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In the eighteenth-century Greenbrier River Valley of present-day West Virginia, identity was based on a connection to “place” and the shared experiences of settlement, commerce, and warfare as settlers embraced an identity as Greenbrier residents, Virginians, and Americans. In this dissertation, I consider the Greenbrier Valley as an early American place participating in and experiencing events and practices that took place throughout the American colonies and the Atlantic World, while simultaneously becoming a discrete community and place where these experiences formed a unique Greenbrier identity. My project is the first study of the Greenbrier Valley to situate the region temporally within the revolutionary era and geographically within the Atlantic World.

For many decades Greenbrier Valley communities were at the western edge of Virginia's backcountry settlements in what was often an “ambiguous zone” of European control and settlers moved in and out of the region with the ebb and flow of frontier violence. Settlers arriving in the region came by way of the Shenandoah Valley where they traveled along the Great Wagon Road before crossing into the Greenbrier region through the mountain passes and rivers cutting across the Allegheny Mountains. Without a courthouse or church, which were the typical elements of community in eighteenth-century Virginia society, until after the American Revolution, Greenbrier settlers forged the bonds of their community through other avenues, including the shared hardships of the settlement experience.

Beginning in 1771, a store established by brothers Sampson and George Mathews, who were merchants in Staunton, Virginia, in partnership with Greenbrier settler John Stuart formed a hub around which community developed as the store served as a place for Greenbrier settlers to exchange goods as well as a place to meet for social gatherings. Greenbrier settlers were active participants in the 1774 frontier expedition known as Lord Dunmore's War as the Greenbrier Valley served as the rendezvous point for the army before they marched across miles of Appalachian terrain and faced the Shawnees on the banks of the Ohio River at Point Pleasant.

Although Dunmore's War strengthened settlers' connections to place, the years of the American Revolution further cemented their communities as they sought to defend the region physically from the threat of Native American and British foes. The experience of violence and warfare during the Revolutionary War reinforced the bonds of community as settlers embraced an identity as Americans in addition to being Greenbrier settlers and Virginians. In the midst of the American Revolution, the process of community formation also resulted in settlers seeking legal recognition and protection for their homes as they petitioned to be recognized as a new Virginia county, named Greenbrier, which allowed them easier access to county courts where they could legitimize their land claims. At the end of the American Revolution, Greenbrier was still considered a backcountry; however, much had changed as a result of the revolutionary era and the region became a gateway for America's western expansion.

‘O’ER MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS’: COMMUNITY AND COMMERCE IN THE  
GREENBRIER VALLEY IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by

Sarah Ellen McCartney

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Approved by

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Committee Chair

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To my Parents and Grandparents

I am eternally grateful for the love, encouragement, and support you have given me in every task I have undertaken and every new adventure on which I have embarked. Thank you for helping develop in me a love of learning and a love of history.

## APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation written by Sarah Ellen McCartney has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In the midst of completing my master's degree coursework, I ventured to Lewisburg, West Virginia, to see the place where many generations of my grandmother's family lived and where my grandmother visited as a child. Taking time out of visits to the courthouse, cemetery, and old home site for a stop at the local historical society, the archivist kindly let me tuck myself away in a quiet room to finish some reading for one of my classes. There, surrounded by piles and boxes of centuries-old papers recently rediscovered at the Greenbrier County courthouse, I was reading Ann Smart Martin's *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia*, which uses merchant John Hook and his store records from the upper Shenandoah Valley to reconstruct Hook's world and to examine consumer goods in the eighteenth-century Virginia backcountry.<sup>1</sup>

Inspired by Martin's work, I returned to the main archive and asked the archivist if the Greenbrier Historical Society had any ledgers or store records from the eighteenth century. I could hardly contain my excitement when he pulled out a large box labelled "Mathews Trading Post" and opened it to reveal a large ledger, a daybook, and an

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<sup>1</sup> Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

envelope full of copies that made up a second daybook, spanning 1771 to 1784.<sup>2</sup> The rest is history – or rather a decade-long journey filled with transcribing every word of those store records, visits to storage facilities, research trips to several historical societies and county and university archives across three states, and many visits back to Greenbrier County. Although my initial curiosity in the store records was due to Ann Smart Martin’s work on consumer goods and consumption practices, I quickly found that my true interest, and the ledger and daybooks’ real strength, related to the creation of the Greenbrier Valley community and the settlers’ identity and connection to place during the era of the American Revolution.

In the revolutionary-era Greenbrier Valley, “place” was a powerful unifier and the foundation of a Greenbrier identity that developed through the shared experiences of settlement, commerce, and warfare, as people saw themselves as Greenbrier residents, Virginians, and Americans. Greenbrier settlers constantly risked life and limb to stay in the Greenbrier Valley because of the region’s importance in their lives as they imprinted their culture on the landscape and constructed their world.<sup>3</sup> The emphasis on place is a theme throughout my project and it is defined as a connection between the “ordinary” rural place that settled gradually through western migration, and the “extraordinary” interactions among various groups during periods of significant religious, economic, or

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<sup>2</sup> Mathews Trading Post Ledger, 1771-1784, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1781, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1773, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>3</sup> Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz, “Introduction: The Valley Road in Time and Space,” in *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present*, eds. Warren R. Hofstra and Karl Raitz (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 3-4.

political turmoil.<sup>4</sup> Rather than requiring the markers of a city or town identifying a region as a cohesive area, a “sense of place” begins with a region’s geography, which is followed by the people who live there, the history of shared experiences, and the distinctiveness of a region both from its surrounding areas and from the nation as a whole.<sup>5</sup>

My focus on place coincides with current scholarly emphasis on early American places. This historical trend is particularly evident in the Early American Places series published collaboratively by the University of Georgia Press, Northern Illinois University Press, New York University Press, University of Nebraska Press, and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. The series describes itself as “locating historical developments in the specific places where they occurred and were contested” with emphasis on the ways these developments “were experienced in particular communities—the local places where people lived, worked, and made sense of their changing worlds.”<sup>6</sup> Although often considering smaller discrete places, the series also highlights scholarship that connects these places to larger networks and geographies.

As an early American place, the Greenbrier Valley’s distinctiveness was in part because of the physical geography separating Greenbrier from other regions, but also

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<sup>4</sup> Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Barbara Allen, “Regional Studies in American Folklore Scholarship,” in *Sense of Place: American Regional Cultures*, eds. Barbara Allen and Thomas J. Schlereth (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 1-2; Christopher Hendricks noted the impact of the American Revolution on the growth of many towns that functioned as supply depots, forts, or even prisoner of war barracks. He studied this urban development through models of “central place theory,” “mercantile” or “wholesaling theory,” “staple theory,” and “functionalism.” See Christopher E. Hendricks, *The Backcountry Towns of Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), xiv, xxi, 50, 139.

<sup>6</sup> Early American Places, “About,” Early American Places, <http://earlyamericanplaces.org/> (accessed 4 December 2017).

because of experiences during the revolutionary era that separated it from other parts of the backcountry, the colony of Virginia, and at times the new nation, even while residents supported the patriot cause (see Figures 1-4).<sup>7</sup>

Settlers arriving in the region came by way of the Shenandoah Valley where they traveled along the Great Wagon Road before crossing into the Greenbrier region through the mountain passes and rivers cutting across the Allegheny Mountains.<sup>8</sup> Without a courthouse or church, which were the typical elements used to establish communal bonds in eighteenth-century Virginia society, until after the American Revolution, Greenbrier settlers forged the bonds of their community differently. Instead, community developed around shared hardships associated with settlement, interactions at the Greenbrier stores as places for settlers to engage in the consumer society and culture, and socialize with friends and neighbors, and through the offensive and defensive experience of warfare during Lord Dunmore's War and the American Revolution.

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<sup>7</sup> The title of this dissertation speaks to this geography. "O'er mountains and rivers" is a phrase taken from "The Battle Song of the Great Kanawha," which is "one of the oldest documented Virginia ballads" according to the Blue Ridge Institute and Museum. The song was initially passed down through oral tradition to the descendants of the men who fought at Point Pleasant. In the early nineteenth century, the song was documented by Lyman C. Draper and later published in a *Documentary History of Dunmore's War 1774*. The men who fought in Dunmore's War met at the present-day location of Lewisburg in Greenbrier County, West Virginia and the verses "They marched thro' the untrodden wilds of the west,/ O'er mountains and rivers also,/ and pitched at Point Pleasant[...]" reference the Greenbrier River Valley. For more information on this song, see "Deathly Lyrics: Songs of Virginia Tragedies," Blue Ridge Institute and Museum, <http://www.blueridgeinstitute.org/ballads/online exhibit.html>. For variations on the text, see, Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds. *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (1905; repr., Baltimore: Clearfield Company by Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 2002), 433; The Greenbrier River Valley is part of present-day Pocahontas, Greenbrier, Monroe, and Summers counties in West Virginia.

<sup>8</sup> The exact origins of the name "Greenbrier" is unknown. One of the first references to the area was in 1745 when a number of men received grants from the Virginia Council for land on "Green Brier River" and formed the Greenbrier Company. See Wilmer L. Hall, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, vol. 5 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1945), 172-173.

As I began to delve into the ledger and daybooks, I quickly made several changes to the way I referred to the store records based on my findings. While the Greenbrier Historical Society identified the store records as the “Mathews Trading Post,” this terminology was problematic as “trading posts” are most often considered to be part of the Indian trade, but the records did not reference Native Americans or any specific trade goods and, given Virginian-Indian relations in the region, it is doubtful that an active Indian trade took place in Greenbrier. The origins of the term “trading post” as a reference to the commercial venture located in Greenbrier appears to come from a 1963 article in the *Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society* by Harry E. Handley, the founder of the Greenbrier Historical Society, which is titled “The Mathews Trading Post” and begins with the line, “The first trading post, or store[...].” Although Handley refers to the business as a “trading post” throughout his article, I refer to the business more generically as a “store.”<sup>9</sup>

In addition, the Mathews’ affiliation with the store quickly became unclear. Brothers Sampson and George Mathews were merchants in Staunton, Virginia, and the records at the Greenbrier Historical Society identified the store in the Greenbrier Valley, nearly 120 miles away from Staunton, as part of their business. Besides distance alone, the Mathews participated in Augusta County and Virginia’s colonial governance, as well as the American Revolution, making it evident that they were not involved in the daily

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<sup>9</sup> In contrast, J. R. Cole’s 1917 book about Greenbrier County includes a biographical essay discussing the Mathews family without any reference to a “trading post” or, in fact, any reference to a business owned or run by any of the Mathews in the eighteenth century Greenbrier Valley. See Harry E. Handley, “The Mathews Trading Post,” *Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society* 1, no. 1 (August 1963): 8-14; J. R. Cole, *History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, WV: J. R. Cole, 1917), 67-72.

business of running the Greenbrier store. Through careful analysis of the ledger and daybooks themselves, as well as small collections of John Stuart's papers housed at Virginia and West Virginia archives, I determined that Stuart was in a business partnership with the Mathews brothers and was the storekeeper at the Greenbrier store.<sup>10</sup>

Although Greenbrier was home to other merchants and tradesmen in the 1770s, the surviving records from the Mathews-Stuart store are the only known extant eighteenth-century store records from the area and they cover a significant period of the revolutionary era.<sup>11</sup> The store records consist of a ledger, with more than 350 accounts spanning 1771 to 1785, and two daybooks. Daybooks were a type of smaller account book used to keep track of daily business. The larger ledger is organized by customer account and consists of information transferred from the daybooks.<sup>12</sup> The daybooks cover narrower periods of time with one book spanning 1771 to 1773, and the other daybook providing sporadic entries from 1771 to 1781.

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<sup>10</sup> I will discuss John Stuart and Sampson and George Mathews' business partnership in greater detail in Chapter III.

<sup>11</sup> As this project neared its conclusion, Samuel Hale, archivist at the Greenbrier Historical Society in Lewisburg, West Virginia, contacted me with a list of "businesses" compiled from miscellaneous legal papers from the Greenbrier County courthouse that the Greenbrier Historical Society staff just began processing and cataloguing. The documents are primarily a scrap of receipt or court judgement referencing a business transaction and include names of people living in the Greenbrier Valley, as well as eastern Botetourt and Augusta counties. It is nearly impossible to know the extent of a business by a single reference or know whether one document is a personal business transaction or representative of a multi-year commercial venture. Although I have not yet been able to examine the miscellaneous documents, the list the archivist provided reveals that there were likely a few store-taverns, individuals selling merchandise, or business partnerships in the Greenbrier Valley during the revolutionary era. These businesses seemingly operated sporadically during the period of John Stuart and Sampson and George Mathews' partnership and do not have known extant records beyond these miscellaneous legal records.

<sup>12</sup> The ledger contains 258 pages of accounts and follows the bookkeeping system that was typical of eighteenth-century stores with the debits on the left-hand page and the credits on the right. There are three or four individual accounts listed on each set of debit and credit pages. As the record keeper ran out of space on a page, the account holder's name and balance was carried over to a new page along with a notation explaining where the account was transferred from. The two daybooks are organized by date and they consist of approximately ninety pages and twenty-five pages respectively.



A 1984 article by Frances Alderson Swope in the *Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society* sheds some light on the Greenbrier Historical Society's acquisition of these records.<sup>13</sup> Swope wrote that prior to 1983, the only known extant records were the two daybooks described in Harry Handley's 1963 article, but that the Greenbrier Historical Society received a gift of another "Mathews Trading Post" daybook and a ledger from Denny Wood in the early 1980s.<sup>14</sup> While the tallies from Harry Handley and Frances Swope's articles describe three daybooks and one ledger, the Greenbrier Historical Society's current holdings are one extant daybook, one ledger, and copies of another daybook, including exterior and interior covers. This project is based on those sources.<sup>15</sup>

At the most foundational level the extant Greenbrier store records provide an account of consumption patterns and the movement of goods throughout the Greenbrier Valley; however, the records also speak to the development of community through a shared culture and identity. Beyond the record of transactions, all three books include notations in the margins identifying kinship ties, the locations of customers' homes throughout the Greenbrier region, the professions of some customers, and customer relationships gleaned from references to one person recommending another individual for a store account.

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<sup>13</sup> Frances Alderson Swope, "The Mathews Trading Post Ledger, 1771-1779," *Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society* IV, no. 4 (1984): 20-60.

<sup>14</sup> Denny Wood was identified as a descendant of John Stuart; however, nothing else is known about him.

<sup>15</sup> Whether or not there really was a fourth daybook is unknown; however, I suspect that one of the daybooks Harry Handley used was the same daybook Denny Wood donated to the Greenbrier Historical Society in the early 1980s.

The history of the Greenbrier Valley and the Mathews-Stuart store records, are supplemented with a section of a daybook from Matthew Read, a merchant in Staunton, Virginia, which is housed at the College of William and Mary's archive.<sup>16</sup> Matthew Read was a known merchant in Augusta County in the 1760s, and given settlement patterns and connections between the Greenbrier Valley and Staunton, I examined his daybook and discovered a page from October 25, 1773 with the heading "Greenbriar."<sup>17</sup> For unknown reasons, Read set up a business in the Greenbrier Valley from October 1773 to April 1774 and nearly forty pages of his daybook document purchases from Greenbrier settlers over the six month period.

Beyond these business records, this project uses diverse sources to understand Greenbrier society during the revolutionary era. No collections of personal papers exist for Sampson and George Mathews' business dealings in Staunton, Virginia. The Stuart Family papers, which are in the archives at West Virginia University in Morgantown, West Virginia, include several folders of personal receipts and notes from John Stuart prior to the American Revolution, while his *Memoir of the Indian Wars* is held at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, Virginia.<sup>18</sup> The Greenbrier Valley is situated in what was initially the western portion of Augusta and Botetourt counties, which originated in the Shenandoah Valley. Because of the distance, identifying Greenbrier settlers in county records is particularly challenging since few people made the arduous

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<sup>16</sup> Matthew Read Journal, 1771-1776, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA.

<sup>17</sup> Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>18</sup> John Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars and other occurrences, 1749-1780," Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

journeys to Staunton or Fincastle to serve as justices or seek redress for grievances in the county courts.

Among the county records that offer some insight into the Greenbrier Valley are court minutes, tithables lists, and land surveys. I also examined official correspondence from Virginia's governors, as well as government and legislative documents for the colony and state of Virginia. Military records from various frontier wars, as well as Lord Dunmore's War and the American Revolution, and pension records provide information about the men who served in Greenbrier's militia or defended Greenbrier. Lastly, I have benefited from the expertise of archaeologists Kim and Stephen McBride who excavated many frontier forts in the Greenbrier Valley, and who kindly plotted surveys, discussed archaeological reports, completed on-the-ground exploration of historic sites, and gave me a tour of the Greenbrier Valley as I attempted to identify the location of the Mathews-Stuart store and other physical features on the landscape.

My work is the first study of the Greenbrier Valley to situate the region temporally within the revolutionary era and geographically within the Atlantic World. Beyond placing the region within a larger historical context, the history of the eighteenth-century Greenbrier Valley and Greenbrier County has been the subject of just a handful of publications through the twentieth century and it is all but absent from recent scholarly works. In 1917, J. R. Cole published his *History of Greenbrier County* with a topical study of the region emphasizing specific moments of county history, families, and individual biographies.<sup>19</sup> Twenty-five years later, in 1942, Ruth Woods Dayton, a native

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<sup>19</sup> Cole, *History of Greenbrier County*, 11.

of Greenbrier County, wrote *Greenbrier Pioneers and Their Homes* offering a house-by-house tour through historic homes in the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>20</sup> In 1986, West Virginia's first Historian Laureate, Otis K. Rice, wrote *A History of Greenbrier County*, which is the most recent book-length work on the region, and considers the region's history from settlement to the end of the twentieth century.<sup>21</sup> The most recent publication, *Frontier Defense: Colonizing Contested Areas in the Greenbrier Valley of West Virginia*, is Kim and Stephen McBride's scholarship about their archaeological excavations of the Greenbrier Valley's frontier forts over the last thirty years, which was a pamphlet published by the West Virginia Humanities Council in 2014.<sup>22</sup>

Beyond the few works published over the last century, the history of the Greenbrier Valley and Greenbrier County, which briefly included the entire state of present-day West Virginia, are often seen as part of a singular Virginia backcountry or colonial frontier. Greenbrier is frequently lumped into scholarship on regions to its east or west, such as the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, or Kentucky and the Ohio Country, which creates the misconception of a homogeneous backcountry experience that disregards the basic geographic and temporal elements that make Greenbrier, or any backcountry community, distinct.<sup>23</sup> Through the revolutionary era, Greenbrier was on the

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<sup>20</sup> Ruth Woods Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers and Their Homes* (Charleston, WV: West Virginia Publishing Company, 1942).

<sup>21</sup> Otis K. Rice, *A History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, WV: Greenbrier Historical Society, 1986).

<sup>22</sup> Kim McBride and W. Stephen McBride, *Frontier Defense: Colonizing Contested Areas in the Greenbrier Valley of West Virginia* (Nicholasville, KY: Warner's Printing Services for the West Virginia Humanities Council, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> Christopher Hendricks describes backcountry regions beyond Virginia's Fall Line, noting that they changed over time. The regions include the Southside (below the James River), Piedmont (north of the James River), Great Valley (beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains), and Mountains (beyond the Allegheny Front). See Hendricks, *The Backcountry Towns of Colonial Virginia*, 6-10.

frontlines of the American colonies' western advance as one of the few regions reaching into the Allegheny Mountains. The timing of settlement in the Greenbrier Valley just prior to the American Revolution contributes to a unique history and perspective of community development in the midst of wartime that is not found elsewhere. The history of the Greenbrier Valley during this period also increases our understanding of consumer history through Greenbrier's connections to colonial America and the Atlantic World. While considering the Greenbrier Valley as a unique place expands our understanding of a backcountry region and community identity in the late eighteenth century, moving beyond Greenbrier connects a backcountry place to both an Atlantic identity and a developing national identity during the revolutionary era.<sup>24</sup>

Each chapter of this project discusses a different time period and theme in the creation of a Greenbrier identity and community from the first years of settlement through the revolutionary era. The next chapter examines Greenbrier's settlement initially as an outgrowth of the Shenandoah Valley, then through the formation of Botetourt County and the beginning of the American Revolution. The third chapter considers the role of commerce in the development of Greenbrier's community and

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<sup>24</sup> Key works on the Virginia backcountry include Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (New York: Atheneum, 1973); Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977); Richard R. Beeman, *The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry: A Case Study of Lunenburg County, Virginia 1746-1832* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry During the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1985); Michael J. Puglisi, ed. *Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1997); Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra, eds. *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2000); Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004)

connections between purchases and activities at the Greenbrier stores and regions beyond the backcountry. The fourth chapter discusses Lord Dunmore's War in 1774 and the impact of the Camp Union rendezvous point in the Greenbrier Valley when the arrival of hundreds of militiamen temporarily increased the region's population and the events of 1774 solidified the region's permanence. The fifth chapter focuses on the early years of the American Revolution, from the outcome of Lord Dunmore's War to the murder of Shawnee leader Cornstalk in 1777 and the settlers' petition to Virginia's governing body to create a new county. Lastly, the sixth chapter begins with the formation of Greenbrier County in 1778 and considers the aftermath of Cornstalk's murder, the challenges of recruitment as the Revolutionary War continued, and eventually, the war's end.

Each chapter also engages with particular historiographies, whether related to the backcountry, frontier warfare, commerce and exchange, Lord Dunmore's War, or the American Revolution. Chapter II begins with the settlement of the Virginia backcountry and Shenandoah Valley and the arrival of the first European settlers in the Greenbrier Valley around 1750 as I examine community building elements and moments related to the settlement experience. For many decades, Greenbrier communities lay at the western edge of Virginia's settlements in an often ambiguous zone of European control and settlers experienced Indian attacks throughout the first several decades of settlement.<sup>25</sup> This experience of frontier conflict had a profound impact on the community's

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<sup>25</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 5, 2, 282.

development as settlers relied on each other's support to defend their homes and families.<sup>26</sup>

Despite historians' tendency to relegate the Virginia backcountry to peripheral status during its early years of development, backcountry settlements, from western Pennsylvania to Virginia and through the Carolinas, were the origin of the "quintessentially American landscape of rural farms and small towns."<sup>27</sup> Although part of a similar landscape, the Greenbrier Valley experience has often been incorporated into that of the Shenandoah Valley, which is a region "with one of the strongest geographic identities in America," without considering Greenbrier's distinct experience.<sup>28</sup> My project remedies this oversight as I utilize scholarship on the settlement and creation of community in the Shenandoah Valley and the shared elements of backcountry society, but consider the development of the Greenbrier Valley as a discrete area with challenges

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<sup>26</sup> Ian Steele provides an exhaustive study of Indian captives as part of his work on the cultural and military war for the Allegheny region from the 1740s through 1760s. Steele weaves together myriad accounts of backcountry settlers in captivity as he examines the impact of time spent in captivity on both the individuals who experienced it and those who feared it. See Ian K. Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free: Capture, Adjustment, and Recollection in Allegheny Country* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013); Robert Owens examines the fear of "Indian war," especially a pan-Indian war involving multiple Indian nations, on the Anglo-American psyche. This was a key element in backcountry settler's response to Native Americans throughout the Revolutionary era. See Robert M. Owens, *Red Dreams, White Nightmares: Pan-Indian Alliances in the Anglo-American Mind, 1763-1815* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015).

<sup>27</sup> Warren Hofstra and Robert Mitchell, "Town and Country in Backcountry Virginia: Winchester and the Shenandoah Valley, 1730-1800," *Journal of Southern History* 59, no. 4 (Nov. 1993), 622.

<sup>28</sup> Hofstra and Raitz, "Introduction: The Valley Road in Time and Space," 10; Elizabeth Perkins notes that landscape is personal and varies from person to person based on status, background, and place of residence, so while Greenbrier settlers had an individual landscape of their homes, they could also develop a community landscape tied to their Greenbrier identity as they viewed themselves and their relationship to other areas of Virginia, the American colonies, and a wider Atlantic World. See Elizabeth A. Perkins, *Border Life: Experience and Memory in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 42.

and experiences that did not always align with that of the Valley of Virginia.<sup>29</sup> In this way my project rethinks our conceptions of the backcountry and, although recognizing shared characteristics across regions, encourages greater attention to the specific temporal and geographic contexts that shape the history of each place.

Chapter III focuses on commerce in the Greenbrier Valley. Greenbrier store accounts may well be the westernmost surviving store records from revolutionary-era Virginia and Britain's North American colonies. My work is informed by Ann Smart Martin's study of merchant John Hook's stores approximately 100 miles east of the Greenbrier Valley, although the Greenbrier records are not as abundant as John Hook's extensive business papers. The ledger and daybooks from the Greenbrier Valley serve as an assemblage of artifacts, which can be viewed both individually and in relationship to each other and are distinctly informative about time and place.<sup>30</sup> In this way, the store records offer evidence about the revolutionary-era Greenbrier Valley that is absent from

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<sup>29</sup> Warren Hofstra's study of the Opequon settlement at present-day Winchester, Virginia, considers a Scots-Irish community that went against the stereotypical portrayal of the Scots-Irish as "restless backwoods strivers after individual freedom and material self-betterment" at the expense of community. Hofstra found that, instead, "family, kin, ethnicity, land, and congregation were factors of the utmost importance." See Warren R. Hofstra, "Land, Ethnicity, and Community at the Opequon Settlement, Virginia, 1730-1800," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98, no. 3 (July 1990): 423-424; Warren R. Hofstra, "Searching for Peace and Prosperity: Opequon Settlement, Virginia, 1730s-1760s," in *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2012): 105-122; Turk McCleskey's contribution to the history of the Shenandoah Valley focused on the acquisition of land in Augusta County and revealed that "frontier opportunities were far more restrictive than previously suspected" as much of the real estate was controlled by speculators and surveyors. As elites controlled lands in the Valley of Virginia, they "furthered two of colonial Virginia's long-term goals: expansion into the hinterland and maintenance of the existing social order." See Turk McCleskey, "Rich Land, Poor Prospects: Real Estate and the Formation of a Social Elite in Augusta County, Virginia, 1738-1770," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98, no. 3 (July 1990): 450-451, 486.

<sup>30</sup> Bernard L. Herman, "The Bricoleur Revisited," in *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, eds. Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison (Winterthur: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 38; Leora Auslander, "Beyond Words," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (October 2005), 1017.



other written records. The records serve as a “bricolage,” which is described by Bernard Herman as the process of creating “compelling, meaningful narratives out of seemingly unrelated objects and events” since material objects both reflect culture and the process of creating culture.<sup>31</sup> The goods sold at the store are also uniquely suited to an analysis of community and the shared cultural and ideological elements that crafted an identity as residents of the Greenbrier Valley, Virginians, and Americans, as material objects both reflect culture and the process of creating culture.

My analysis of the goods in the Greenbrier store records contributes to various strands of scholarship. The Greenbrier business functioned as both store and tavern, a place where customers not only made purchases, but also gathered for social occasions and activities that reinforced the bonds of community.<sup>32</sup> This project expands the scholarship of frontier tavern culture by considering the Greenbrier businesses’ role in social exchange rather than examining their existence simply as a measurement for economic growth in a region.<sup>33</sup> It also challenges arguments that widespread use of specific consumer goods, such as tea, in the British colonies formed a foundation of trust,

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<sup>31</sup> Herman, “Bricoleur Revisited,” 39; Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 9.

<sup>32</sup> Daniel Thorp notes that a dual-purpose store and tavern was common in the backcountry. See Daniel B. Thorp, “Doing Business in the Backcountry: Retail Trade in Colonial Rowan County, North Carolina,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (July 1991), 391.

<sup>33</sup> Daniel Thorp notes that taverns in well-established communities have been studied to reconstruct tavern culture and society while backcountry taverns with fewer extant sources have been used simply as a way to measure economic growth rather than analyzing and understanding their contributions to the local society and community. See Daniel B. Thorp, “Taverns and Tavern Culture on the Southern Colonial Frontier: Rowan County, North Carolina, 1753-1776,” *Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 4 (Nov. 1996), 663; Sarah Hand Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery: Alcohol, Gender, and Technology in the Colonial Chesapeake* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

and by extension a test of allegiance for all colonists during the revolutionary era.<sup>34</sup> Tea was not a common item in Greenbrier, and was not popular throughout the Virginia backcountry, so its absence raises questions about historians' use of the beverage as a symbol of American unity since many colonial Americans did not consume the beverage.<sup>35</sup>

A study of the goods Stuart sold to customers at the Greenbrier store also adds to scholarship on books and print culture and the role of religion in the revolutionary-era Virginia backcountry. Presbyterian congregations were well-established in other parts of colonial North America, but settlers did not establish a church in the Greenbrier region until the 1780s, after the Revolutionary War. While itinerant Presbyterian ministers were tasked with traveling through the region a few times a year, no sources disclose whether or not they carried out their mission.<sup>36</sup> Books purchased at the Greenbrier store reveal controversial Presbyterian texts like Alexander Shields *A Hind Let Loose*, which advocated overthrowing tyrannical rulers and was considered a rebellious work outside of Presbyterian communities both when it was published in the seventeenth century and when it was associated with violence in the eighteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Scholars have noted the

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<sup>34</sup> Breen argued that "Goods became the foundation of trust, for one's willingness to sacrifice the pleasures of the market provided a remarkably visible and effective test of allegiance." See T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), xv.

<sup>35</sup> Ann Smart Martin, "Buying into the World of Goods: Eighteenth-Century Consumerism and the Retail Trade from London to the Virginia Frontier" (PhD diss., College of William and Mary, 1993), 286; Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 305.

<sup>36</sup> Rice, *A History of Greenbrier County*, 183.

<sup>37</sup> Pennsylvania Quakers accused the Paxton Boys, who violently attacked peaceful Indians in Pennsylvania in 1763 and were known to be Presbyterians, of revering the book. See Joseph S. Moore, *Founding Sins: How a Group of Antislavery Radicals Fought to Put Christ into the Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 8-9.

Presbyterian influence in Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, but my study is the first to identify it, and the potential implications for its presence beyond the Shenandoah Valley, in trans-Appalachian Virginia in the revolutionary era.<sup>38</sup> Goods sold in the Greenbrier Valley connected settlers to an Atlantic World, but the community itself also developed in the midst of the political changes and imperial conflicts of the era.

Chapter IV, V, and VI, examine the tumultuous periods of Lord Dunmore's War and the American Revolution, and Greenbrier's distinctiveness through these experiences.<sup>39</sup> My project considers warfare in the late eighteenth century through the lens of place, which contrasts with studies of revolutionary-era backcountry regions that focus on specific military campaigns, colonial leaders, or Indian nations, rather than connecting a local or regional experience to imperial strategies.<sup>40</sup> Greenbrier settlers were constantly torn between defensive and offensive designs as the Greenbrier Valley

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<sup>38</sup> Benjamin Bankhurst offers the most recent comprehensive study of Presbyterians in this period, see Benjamin Bankhurst, *Ulster Presbyterians and the Scots Irish Diaspora, 1750-1764* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

<sup>39</sup> Patrick Griffin offered the greatest detail on the frontier region that encompassed the Greenbrier Valley, but he emphasizes empire and nation over local concerns or experiences. See Patrick Griffin, *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007).

<sup>40</sup> Glenn F. Williams' *Dunmore's War: The Last Conflict of America's Colonial Era* is a comprehensive work on the events of Lord Dunmore's War in 1774; however, it is, as Williams notes, primarily a campaign history examining military operations; *Dunmore's New World* by James Corbett David looks west to the backcountry from Williamsburg as it follows John Murray, Lord Dunmore, through his various posts in colonial America and the events of Lord Dunmore's War in 1774. See James Corbett David, *Dunmore's New World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013); Woody Holton examined tensions between elites and non-elites in the years leading up to the American Revolution and although he addresses the backcountry region, his focus is primarily on wealthy land speculators and their interactions with both Indians and enslaved Virginians. See Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Michael McDonnell offered the most extensive analysis of the American Revolution in Virginia as he discussed wartime mobilization and a "society at war" rather than a strictly military history; however, he considered Virginia broadly with attention to race and class, and greater emphasis on eastern Virginia. See Michael A. McDonnell, *The Politics of War: Race, Class, and Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 5.

often faced the threat of Indian attacks, but their location at the western edge of settlement meant these militias had the easiest access to the Ohio Country and America's foes and were often called out for service. Greenbrier's militias were also caught between Virginia and Continental Army leaders whose ideas about warfare and understanding of the challenges of backcountry life often conflicted with one another.

During the revolutionary era, "backcountry" was a catch-all term used for many areas beyond Virginia's Fall Line running north-south approximately along present-day Interstate 95. In studies of the American Revolution, areas from as far east as Hanover County near present-day Richmond, the town of Charlottesville, the Shenandoah Valley, southwest Virginia, and the entire present-day state of West Virginia were considered "backcountry," but these regions and experiences were diverse, and only western and southwest Virginia faced a constant threat of Indian attacks throughout the revolutionary era.<sup>41</sup>

Considering the experience of backcountry Virginians during the American Revolution, historians focus on the trend toward "localism" in various parts of the Shenandoah Valley, which Albert Tillson defined as a "preoccupation with local matters to the exclusion of [...] the outside world" and argued that backcountry settlers had a

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<sup>41</sup> In *At the Edge of Empire*, Eric Hinderaker and Peter Mancall defined "backcountry" in relation to empire as "the territory that lay beyond the core settlements of mainland English colonies, and generally also beyond the control of an often weak imperial state. The backcountry was not a fixed place; its location and meaning shifted over time." Although emphasizing "English America," Hinderaker and Mancall explained that "the colonial backcountry was an ambiguous zone, neither Indian country nor yet fully incorporated into the ambit of British governance and Anglo-American control." See Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 5, 179.

“primary attachment to local neighborhoods rather than to county, colony, or empire.”<sup>42</sup>

While the Greenbrier Valley experience during the American Revolution partially supports Tillson’s argument since Greenbrier settlers’ concerns for the colony or empire were minimal in contrast to local concerns, my work demonstrates that in Greenbrier, attachment to place went beyond neighborhoods as the strongest support was for the Greenbrier community and eventually Greenbrier County.

Throughout the scholarship on the Virginia backcountry in the revolutionary era, there has been a sense of the backcountry’s isolation from other regions. In publications focusing specifically on the American Revolution in Virginia, the backcountry is too often relegated to a discussion of violence and warfare with Native Americans, while works that focus on specific communities in the backcountry easily lose sight of the complexity of society or the reality that backcountry settlers participated in worlds beyond the geographic boundaries of their homes. Instead, scholarship should grapple with these perspectives and blend them in a way that does not lead to omitting the backcountry from the history of the revolutionary era or isolate it from the broader story of eighteenth-century Virginia, the American colonies, and the Atlantic World. My work seeks to do just that as I consider the Greenbrier Valley as an early American place settled during a time of uncertainty, participating in consumption practices and exchange throughout the Atlantic World, and joining imperial struggles for land and empire, while

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<sup>42</sup> Albert H. Tillson, Jr., “The Localist Roots of Backcountry Loyalism: An Examination of Popular Political Culture in Virginia’s New River Valley,” *Journal of Southern History* 54, no. 3 (August 1988), 387.

simultaneously becoming a community and place where these experiences formed a unique Greenbrier identity.

## CHAPTER II

### SETTLING “GRAIN BRAYER”<sup>1</sup>

After crossing the Great North Mountain, [and] passing through the Calf Pasture, and the Cow Pasture, we came to Jackson’s mountain; the road over which being intolerably bad, we found greater difficulty in crossing this mountain than any we had come over hitherto. However having at length accomplished it, we crossed Jackson’s River, a branch of the Fluvannah River or the upper branch of the James River, and afterwards crossing some more mountains, we fell in upon the Green Briar River, at Howard’s Creek[...]This journey was extremely fatiguing, and by no means agreeable, although we met with inhabitants all the way, and better accommodations than could be expected in that remote part of the country. The Green Briar River is not so large as the New River, at the junction of which is formed the Great Kanhawah; but however it is a very considerable stream of water, extremely pleasant, with abundance of most excellent land upon its banks.<sup>2</sup>

In 1774, J.F.D. Smyth traveled from Staunton, Virginia, to the Greenbrier Valley of present-day West Virginia and documented his 100 mile journey “through a country extremely rough, rocky, and mountainous.”<sup>3</sup> This journey traced the route made by settlers migrating across the Appalachian Mountains and into Greenbrier beginning in the 1750s – leaving the Shenandoah Valley and the Great Valley Province, then crossing the Valley and Ridge Province and the Eastern Continental Divide at the Allegheny Front and moving into the Appalachian Plateau Province that covers roughly two thirds of

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<sup>1</sup> William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, eds. “Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia (Continued),” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 12, no. 2 (Oct., 1904): 152-153.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour of the United States of America*, vol. 2 (1784; repr., Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2007), 157-158.

<sup>3</sup> Smyth, *A Tour of the United States of America*, vol. 2, 157.

present-day West Virginia (see Figures 4-5).<sup>4</sup> Smyth's journey not only illuminated the challenges of traversing this mountainous terrain, but also the physical distance of space and time between the Greenbrier Valley and Staunton, which was the largest town in the Shenandoah Valley and the point of contact for all legal and commercial activities for the first two decades of Greenbrier's settlement.

This chapter considers the Greenbrier Valley's development from Native American hunting grounds through the first two decades of European settlement with emphasis on the role of kinship connections and the formation of community. Early European settlement in the Greenbrier Valley was an outgrowth of the Shenandoah Valley and while some settlers moved into the region with family kinship networks in place, others developed those relationships once they arrived in Greenbrier. The Indian Wars of the 1750s and 1760s greatly impacted Greenbrier's development as the region represented a peninsula of western settlement intruding into the Native peoples' lands and, as a result, the Greenbrier Valley experienced numerous Indian attacks and settler counter attacks, that devastated entire families and drastically altered or eliminated European and Indian communities throughout the region.<sup>5</sup> Through years of constant concern about Virginian-Indian relations, Britain negotiated and renegotiated the boundaries of its imperial claims, which both supported and impeded western settlement.

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<sup>4</sup> "Physiographic Provinces of West Virginia," West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, <http://www.wvgs.wvnet.edu/www/geology/geolphys.htm> (accessed November 17, 2016).

<sup>5</sup> Peter Silver notes that Indian war was especially frightening to rural European settlers because the battles and skirmishes did not feel like "proper violence" and did not follow European military strategy. In fact, Indian war "was designed by its practitioners to be precisely as terrifying as they found it." See Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 56-57.



As the population grew, Virginia divided large frontier counties into slightly smaller, though still extensive, geographic regions. By the early 1770s, Greenbrier's settlements were well-established as part of Botetourt County; however, the experience of settling in an isolated region inextricably tied Greenbrier settlers to each other even as their ability to acquire land and establish homes tied them to the Greenbrier Valley and encouraged the creation of a community and a Greenbrier identity that would allow them to survive and thrive in the Virginia backcountry.

### **Precursor to Greenbrier: Settling the Valley of Virginia**

To understand European settlement in the Greenbrier Valley and the Greenbrier region in the mid-eighteenth century, it is necessary to begin with the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley, also known as the Valley of Virginia, in the early 1700s as there was a natural flow from one region to the other. Historian Warren Hofstra noted that the Shenandoah Valley was “beyond the pale of government” when first settled in the 1730s because it was so far into Virginia’s western land claims that “No deeds to land there could be recorded with a county court, Land could not be conveyed with certainty of title or seized for debt. No sheriff’s writ ran there, nor did a justice preside over property disputes” and any local governing structure was completely absent.<sup>6</sup>

Despite being a region seemingly beyond the jurisdiction of Virginia’s government and officials, the peopling of the Shenandoah Valley was an integral part of

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<sup>6</sup> Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 55.

an imperial strategy to protect Virginia's western border. Virginia's Crown-appointed Lieutenant Governor, Alexander Spotswood, discussed establishing settlements of "Protestant Strangers" in a speech to Virginia's House of Burgesses in 1714.<sup>7</sup> He described the "Security, [he] provided for the Country" by establishing a barrier of settlers who were "of the Same Nation with our present Sovereign," referring to the German heritage of George I of Hanover.<sup>8</sup> The settler-barrier was not only made up of people of German origins, but also men and women who had immigrated from Northern Ireland and could be utilized as a human buffer between the colonial frontier and areas of English occupation. These groups were seen as the ideal settlers by imperial officials because they were white, yeomen farmers, and Protestant."<sup>9</sup> This buffer-zone of Protestant immigrant farmers would protect British territories against encroaching western Indians, or their French allies, as the English sought the "future Safety and the Extention of His Majesties Dominions on that frontere."<sup>10</sup> It also ensured that Virginia claimed the lands instead of Pennsylvania or the Carolinas.

By emphasizing western development as an extension of England's territory, settling the Virginia frontier was an imperial story. Through property rights extended by the Crown and local governments' roles in securing lands, colonial officials rather than settlers created the structure for settlement, and even non-English settlers, who were often

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<sup>7</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 59.

<sup>8</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 59.

<sup>9</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 59-60.

<sup>10</sup> H.R. McIlwaine, ed., *Legislative Journals of the Council of Virginia*, vol. 2 (Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1918), 864; Patrick Griffin, *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 58.

recent arrivals to the American colonies, contributed to Britain's empire.<sup>11</sup> From this perspective, scholars cannot consider Virginia backcountry development without noting that royal governors and colonial councils consciously utilized Europeans, who arrived in the American colonies searching for land and opportunities and settled on Virginia's frontier, as a defensive strategy against growing concerns about conflict with the French and Native Americans.<sup>12</sup>

There were several attributes which, according to historian Warren Hofstra, made the Protestant German and Irish settler communities an obvious choice as a buffer against the French, who were Catholic, and Native Americans on the frontier.<sup>13</sup> These new German and Scots-Irish settlers migrated as families, which created a foundation of kinship that was an enduring trait of backcountry settlements.<sup>14</sup> In the New World, they desired "a competence in landholding combined with modest means," which created "communities of yeoman freeholders who took up and developed middling-sized tracts of land" and continued the diversified small-farm economies they had in Europe.<sup>15</sup> These communities were founded on "socially and economically integrated settlements with dense networks of kinship, trade, and religious affiliation."<sup>16</sup> Lastly, Hofstra argued that they were a natural buffer because these settlers were "trained to arms in militia forces

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<sup>11</sup> Warren R. Hofstra, "'The Extention of His Majesties Dominions': The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers," *Journal of American History* 84, no. 4 (March 1998), 1286.

<sup>12</sup> Hofstra, "Extention of His Majesties Dominions," 1311-1312.

<sup>13</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 82.

<sup>14</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 82.

<sup>15</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 82.

<sup>16</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 82.

they would, in theory, fight to defend their independence,” an attribute ascribed to America’s Protestant Irishmen, more commonly called Scots-Irish, for centuries.<sup>17</sup>

In the 1730s when the first German settlers from Pennsylvania moved into the area, the Shenandoah Valley was part of Spotsylvania County; however, a new county named Orange, after William III of Orange who was King of England in the late seventeenth century, formed from Spotsylvania in 1734.<sup>18</sup> Just four years later in 1738, Virginia’s General Assembly established the counties of Frederick and Augusta, named after Frederick the Prince of Wales and his wife Princess Augusta, from Orange County.<sup>19</sup> Augusta County was the larger of the two counties and the most westerly situated as it stretched from the eastern border with Orange County, just west of present-day Fredericksburg, Virginia, “to the utmost limits of Virginia” at the edge of Britain’s territorial claims, and as far south as the Virginia–North Carolina boundary.<sup>20</sup> Augusta County’s population was too small at the time of its founding to fully support a court and local government, so it was not until 1745 that the court was organized and county business was conducted locally in Staunton (see Figure 16).

While settlers of German ancestry were the first to arrive in the northern Lower Valley of Virginia, an influx of Protestant Irish, known as the Scots-Irish today, arrived in the following years.<sup>21</sup> These communities of German and Irish immigrants quickly

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<sup>17</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 82.

<sup>18</sup> “An Act for erecting two new Counties, and Parishes; and granting certain encouragements to the Inhabitants thereof,” William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, vol. 5 (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1819), 78-80.

<sup>19</sup> “An Act for erecting two new Counties,” Hening, ed. *Statutes at Large*, vol. 5, 78-80.

<sup>20</sup> “An Act for erecting two new Counties,” Hening, ed. *Statutes at Large*, vol. 5, 78-80.

<sup>21</sup> David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 111-126.

developed around ethnic traditions and a common cultural heritage strengthened through kinship connections, and what historian James Rice refers to as a “patchwork of surprisingly persistent ethnic enclaves.”<sup>22</sup> While the German settlers were primarily established in the Lower Valley, an “Irish Tract” formed in the southern Upper Valley as more Irish settlers moved into the region (see Figure 4). These Irish settlers, like the Germans, were Protestants, and most were from the Ulster region of Northern Ireland settled by Protestant English and Scots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as part of England’s Irish colonization.<sup>23</sup> In the modern United States, individuals of this ancestry are most often identified as Scots-Irish, or the dated term Scotch-Irish, or specifically Ulster Scots; however, their identity in the eighteenth century, as illustrated by the creation of the Scots-Irish “Irish Tract” through the Shenandoah Valley, was firmly “Irish,” though Protestant.<sup>24</sup> The Upper Shenandoah Valley also became home to settlers from other areas of Europe and England, but the Irish were so prevalent that German-speaking Moravians traveling from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas described their 150-mile route through the Irish communities.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> James D. Rice, *Nature and History in the Potomac Country: From Hunter-Gatherers to the Age of Jefferson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 212; Freeman H. Hart, *The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), 5-7; Warren R. Hofstra and Robert D. Mitchell, “Town and Country in Backcountry Virginia: Winchester and the Shenandoah Valley, 1730-1800,” *Journal of Southern History* 59, no. 4 (Nov., 1993): 619-646.

<sup>23</sup> Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland’s Ulster Scots, America’s Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 9-36; Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 1-3.

<sup>24</sup> Katharine L. Brown and Kenneth W. Keller, “Searching for Status: Virginia’s Irish Tract, 1770-1790,” in *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2012), 124; James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), xi, 200-210.

<sup>25</sup> William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, eds. “Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia (Continued),” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no. 4 (Apr., 1904), 374. Reverend

The earliest European settlements in the Shenandoah Valley included patterns of migration, ethnicity, and kinship that carried into the Greenbrier Valley and other regions of the Appalachian Mountains. Alexander Spotswood's buffer-zone of "Protestant Strangers" proved to be both a formidable defense and continual source of frustration. While colonial officials sought to balance imperial pressures to placate western Indians and their French allies with the "Extention of His Majesties Dominions" through land speculation, settlers' westward movement and desire to claim lands for their families was not daunted, even in the face of violence as they encroached on Native American lands.<sup>26</sup>

### **The Greenbrier Valley's Native American Heritage**

Though the Delawares, Cherokees, and other Native American groups encircled and traveled through present-day West Virginia, the Shawnees were the most prominent Native peoples in the area for much of the eighteenth century, and their interactions with Greenbrier settlers shaped the Greenbrier Valley's development through the revolutionary era. The Shawnees left the region during the late seventeenth century; however, burgeoning immigrant populations in the Susquehanna Valley of western Pennsylvania during the 1730s encouraged their return to a region stretching from the Potomac River to the Arkansas River that historian Peter Wood defined as the "Shawnee Interior" as it was "from the coastal perspective of intruding Europeans, the most

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Leonhard Schnell wrote that he "had no desire to take this way, and as no one could tell me the right way I felt somewhat depressed" when he discovered he had to travel through the Irish Tract.

<sup>26</sup> Griffin, *American Leviathan*, 58; Hofstra, "Extention of His Majesties Dominions," 1285.

remote.”<sup>27</sup> As European settlers moved out of Pennsylvania and down the Shenandoah Valley seeking more land, the Shawnees moved further into this “Shawnee Interior” and into the Ohio Country, which they considered their “ancient homeland.”<sup>28</sup> The move to the Ohio Valley and trans-Appalachian interior physically removed the Shawnees from the control and influence of the British and Iroquois who sought them for trade and political alliances.<sup>29</sup> The Shawnees were not the only Native peoples to claim lands in the Ohio Country, but through negotiations and diplomacy with the Wyandots, Miamis, Delawares, Catawbas, and Cherokees, they established a geopolitical landscape that built on both longstanding and new connections.

When the Shawnees returned to the Ohio Valley in the eighteenth century, they situated themselves primarily on the western side of the Ohio River and heavily used the region south of the Ohio in present-day West Virginia and Kentucky for hunting and travel. As the first European settlers moved west from the Shenandoah Valley and crossed the Allegheny Front into the Greenbrier Valley in the mid-1700s, they were unaware of this history and instead found a region seemingly uninhabited. Settlers quickly learned that a series of pathways crisscrossed the mountains with a well-traveled route through present-day West Virginia crossing the Ohio River at the mouth of the

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<sup>27</sup> This area became West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. See Peter H. Wood, “The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790,” in *Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, rev. ed., ed. Gregory A. Waselkov (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 112.

<sup>28</sup> Sami Lakomäki, *Gathering Together: The Shawnee People through Diaspora and Nationhood, 1600-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 45.

<sup>29</sup> Lakomäki, *Gathering Together*, 45; Eric Hinderaker, “Declaring Independence: The Ohio Indians and the Seven Years’ War,” in *Cultures in Conflict: The Seven Years’ War in North America*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 107-109.

Kanawha and running along the Kanawha River and into the heart of the Greenbrier Valley. In the Greenbrier Valley, the route from the Ohio intersected with the “Great Indian Warpath” and turned to the north and south along present-day Route 219, also known as the Seneca Trail.<sup>30</sup> William E. Myer offers the most comprehensive scholarship on Indian trails through the southeast, and he identifies the route through West Virginia as the Ohio Branch of the “Great Indian Warpath” and describes its juncture with a route that came from central Virginia, then through the present-day towns of White Sulphur Springs, Lewisburg, and Rainelle along the Midland Trail, which is present-day U.S. Route 60 (see Figure 6).<sup>31</sup>

One of the challenges of studying the Greenbrier Valley is that the Shawnees were not the only Native peoples to interact with Virginia’s backcountry settlers; however, Native Americans were often identified by uninformed settlers simply as “Indians” without acknowledging distinctions between Nations, or even divisions within each group. For example, the Shawnees had five principal divisions with specific responsibilities for each group within the larger Nation. The Chillicothe and Thawekila were responsible for political concerns affecting the Shawnees broadly, the Kispokis were leaders in warfare and war chiefs, the Piquas focused on ritual and religion, and the Maquachakes were healers and counselors and may have functioned as counselors for the

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<sup>30</sup> Helen Hornbeck Tanner, “The Land and Water Communication Systems of the Southeastern Indians,” in *Powhatan’s Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, rev. ed. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 29-30.

<sup>31</sup> William E. Myer, “Indian Trails of the Southeast” in *Forty-Second Annual Report of the bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1928), 753.



entire Shawnee Nation.<sup>32</sup> The Maquachakes' prominence among the five divisions was especially important for the Virginians who negotiated with their principal leader Keightughqua, "the Cornstalk," through much of the revolutionary era.<sup>33</sup> These groups often functioned as discrete units with their own leaders, like Cornstalk, which meant that there could be disunity in reactions and responses to the same event. Though there are some references to dissent from one group or another, Virginians usually spoke uniformly of "the Shawnees" without seeming to recognize, or conveniently avoiding, the fact that discrete groups or individual Native Americans, might act independently of each other.

As European settlers moved into the Greenbrier Valley and across the Appalachian Plateau beginning in the 1750s, it appeared that Native Americans would successfully stop permanent settlement; however, they proved unable to prevail against the surge of migration. During the French and Indian War of the 1750s and 1760s, the Shawnees, Mingos, and Delawares, "waged a successful and devastating war against Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland in an effort to neutralize the colonial threat against their ownership of the Ohio Country."<sup>34</sup> Anglo-Americans abandoned their settlements in

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<sup>32</sup> Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 160.

<sup>33</sup> For a description of "the Cornstalk," see Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. II (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 105; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 162; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 67. Dowd notes that Cornstalk was an influential leader among the Shawnee neutralists as someone who opposed militancy in Dunmore's War, but had organized the Shawnees to defend themselves against the invading Virginians and that, after the battle at Point Pleasant, had again supported neutrality. See Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 67.

<sup>34</sup> Lakomäki, *Gathering Together*, 73.

the Greenbrier Valley and elsewhere in the backcountry, but returned with enthusiasm when the war ended. Through the revolutionary era, Native Americans were increasingly “Hemmed in on all Sides by the White People,” and this sense of confinement was especially evident to the Shawnees who found themselves caught between the Virginian’s settlements along the Kanawha Valley and in Kentucky, while their diplomatic relationships with other Native American groups to the north deteriorated and became increasingly combative.<sup>35</sup>

### **The Greenbrier Company and Early Colonial Settlement in the Greenbrier Valley**

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Shenandoah Valley was quickly crowding with settlers, and lands farther west in the Appalachian Mountains gained greater appeal for individual settlement and land speculators alike. On April 26, 1745, the Virginia Council issued grants for western lands to several groups of land speculators, including a grant of 100,000 acres “lying on Green Brier River north West and West of the cow Pasture and Newfoundland” to John Robinson Sr., who was the president of the Virginia Council, as well as Thomas Nelson Jr., John Robinson Jr., William Beverley, Robert Lewis, Beverley Robinson, Henry Weatherburn, John Craig, John Wilson, John Lewis, William Lewis, and Charles Lewis.<sup>36</sup> These men formed the Greenbrier Company and

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<sup>35</sup> Calloway is quoting a letter from Seneca chief Kayashuta to Sir William Johnson in 1773. See Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 158-161.

<sup>36</sup> Wilmer L. Hall, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, vol. 5 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1945), 172-173.

while some speculated in these western lands from afar, others physically moved into the region with their families and actively participated in settlement.<sup>37</sup>

The Greenbrier Company was given four years to survey the lands granted to them and submit a report to the Secretary's office along with payment for the land rights.<sup>38</sup> Four years later, in 1749, the Greenbrier Company requested the renewal of their 1745 Order of Council for four more years to fulfill the requirements of their grant. In 1751 and 1752, the Greenbrier Company again presented petitions to the Virginia Council requesting extensions for the task of surveying lands along the Greenbrier River and paying for the land rights, though the 1752 request notes that the survey was "nearly done."<sup>39</sup> The Council's leniency and repeated extensions were encouraged both because of John Robinson and others who were involved in the Company, but also because Virginia's leaders knew these land companies were the path to new settlements on the frontier and the continued strengthening of the "buffer-zone" against the French and the Ohio Indians.

The first settlers in the Greenbrier Valley were Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell who arrived in 1749 according to an account of Greenbrier's history written by its first county clerk, John Stuart.<sup>40</sup> According to Stuart, Marlin and Sewell settled in the area known as the Little Levels, which is still known by Marlin's name as Marlinton, West

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<sup>37</sup> Otis K. Rice, *History of Greenbrier County* (Parsons, WV: McClain Printing Company, 1986), 16-17.

<sup>38</sup> Hall, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, vol. 5, 282-283.

<sup>39</sup> Hall, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, vol. 5, 369, 430.

<sup>40</sup> "Sewell" is also spelled "Suel." Stuart's "memorandum" was jotted in the back of the first Greenbrier County deed book in 1798., John Stuart, "Narrative of Col. John Stuart, of Greenbrier," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (Apr., 1914): 229. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1914811> (accessed December 15, 2014); This John Stuart is different from the John Stuart who was the southern superintendent of Indian Affairs throughout the colonial period.

Virginia.<sup>41</sup> Stuart wrote that they lived there without families, “but frequently differing in sentiment which ended in rage,” supposedly related to different religious opinions, “Marlin kept possession of the Cabin whilst [Sewell] took up his abode in the trunk of a large tree at a small distance, and thus living more independent their animositys would abate & sociability ensued.”<sup>42</sup> Stuart’s description of Marlin and Sewell as men who preferred isolation and were prone to brash behavior and temper would become a stereotypical description of backcountry and western Virginia inhabitants. However, the Greenbrier Valley’s development depended on the interactions and relationships between settlers who were, as a group, separated from the eastern settlements, but no less reliant on support from their neighbors, family, and community.

By 1750, Thomas Walker, a prominent physician, surveyor, and speculator for another land company, the Loyal Land Company that received a grant from the Virginia Council in 1748, explored southwestern Virginia and made an expedition across the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky and traveled through the Greenbrier Valley on his return journey.<sup>43</sup> Walker recounted his route north along the Greenbrier River through ten miles of “very bad woods” followed by only nine miles of travel the next day, “the way being worse.”<sup>44</sup> He described the land along the Greenbrier River and its branches, writing, “the low grounds on it are of very little value, but on the Branches are very good, and

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<sup>41</sup> Stuart, “Narrative,” 229-230; Rice, *History of Greenbrier County*, 17.

<sup>42</sup> Stuart, “Narrative,” 230; Ruth Woods Dayton writes that the men quarreled over religion. See Ruth Woods Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers and their Homes* (1942; repr., Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1997), 21.

<sup>43</sup> J. T. McAllister, “Early Settlers in Greenbrier County. Extracts from the Journal of Dr. Thomas Walker,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 19, no. 2 (Apr., 1911): 166-172.

<sup>44</sup> McAllister, “Early Settlers,” 167.

there is a great deal of it, and the high-lands is very good in many places.”<sup>45</sup> He also noted settlement in the eastern Greenbrier Valley along Anthony Creek, describing it as “a large creek, which affords a great deal of Very good land, and it is *chiefly* bought” though they did not see the settlers and “missed their plantation.”<sup>46</sup> According to Walker, Anthony Creek “took its Name from an Indian called ‘John Anthony’ that frequently hunts in these woods.”<sup>47</sup> Continuing east, Walker identified the homes of Arwalker Johnston and Robert Armstrong, whose families became well-known in the Greenbrier Valley, between Anthony Creek and Jacksons River.<sup>48</sup>

The Moravians documenting their journey through the “Irish Tract” described a more southern route from the Shenandoah Valley into Greenbrier. Traveling from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in the 1750s, a group of Moravian brethren approaching the “Runoke,” or Roanoke River, near present-day Roanoke, Virginia, noted a road to the west which was “more passable” than the road they traveled on and were informed that it went toward “Grain Brayer.”<sup>49</sup> In their spelling of Greenbrier, one can hear the brogue that would have been prominent among the settlers of the Irish Tract who informed the Moravian brethren of the route. This pathway may refer to the route along present-day U.S. Route 220, which travels northwest out of the city of Roanoke, Virginia, through the

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<sup>45</sup> McAllister, “Early Settlers,” 167.

<sup>46</sup> McAllister, “Early Settlers,” 167.

<sup>47</sup> McAllister, “Early Settlers,” 167.

<sup>48</sup> McAllister, “Early Settlers,” 171.

<sup>49</sup> William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, eds. “Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia (Continued),” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 12, no. 2 (Oct., 1904): 152-153.

small town of Fincastle, which served as the county seat of Botetourt County since its founding in 1769, before winding through the mountains toward the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>50</sup>

While both John Stuart and Thomas Walker identified settlers in the Greenbrier region around 1750, it is only by examining a 1782 list of backdated surveys that the Greenbrier Valley's earliest settlements on the Greenbrier Company's lands takes shape.<sup>51</sup> Though Stuart identified Marlin and Sewell as the first settlers, the first recorded surveys were in 1750 for a number of prominent men from the Greenbrier Company and many other settlers whose family names endured in the Greenbrier Valley through the revolutionary era, although their physical presence in the region through the 1750s and 1760s is often unknown. The surveys typically encompassed between 100 and 500 acres, with a few outliers who were often the Greenbrier Company members, receiving grants of 700, 900, or even over 1,700 acres in the case of Greenbrier Company surveyor Andrew Lewis. Despite the number of surveys and a subsequent population of likely more than a hundred people who settled on those lands, in the first period of settlement, the Greenbrier Valley's situation was similar to Warren Hofstra's depiction of the first years of settlement in the Shenandoah Valley as "beyond the pale of government," without local government to maintain land records or settle land disputes and other legal issues.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> This is likely the route settlers traveling from the Greenbrier Valley to the courthouse at Fincastle would have traveled from Botetourt County's founding in 1769 until Greenbrier County's founding in 1778.

<sup>51</sup> Harry E. Handley, "Beginnings of the Occupation of the Greenbrier Area by the English," *Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society* 1, no. 1 (August, 1963), 6-7.

<sup>52</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 55.

Though potentially lacking legal recourse, the Greenbrier Valley was on Virginian's mental map of the colony's land claims and the Greenbrier River was first included on Virginia maps in the 1750s. Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, who both served as Albemarle County surveyors in the 1740s, completed surveys of the western territory and a new map of Virginia in the early 1750s (see Figures 2-4).<sup>53</sup> Fry and Jefferson's map reoriented depictions of Virginia's geography to center on the Virginia Piedmont rather than the Chesapeake Bay and included territory spanning present-day Virginia and West Virginia – from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ohio River.<sup>54</sup> Observing the extensive lands claimed by the Colony of Virginia, an eighteenth-century French historian noted that the territory of Virginia alone was big enough to be its own powerful country, with all of England, Wales, and Scotland fitting within the 1753 boundaries three times.<sup>55</sup>

The Fry-Jefferson map was the first to include the Greenbrier Valley within its borders and became the foundation of other eighteenth-century maps of Virginia. In 1755, a map of “the middle British colonies in North America” published by Lewis Evans in Philadelphia identified portions of Virginia as “taken from Fry and Jefferson's Map” (see Figures 7-8).<sup>56</sup> Though pulling from Fry-Jefferson's map, Evans provided

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<sup>53</sup> Joshua Fry was a former professor of mathematics at the College of William and Mary and county surveyor for Albemarle County at its founding in 1744. Peter Jefferson was surveyor of Goochland County and then Albemarle County as new counties were created and divided. Peter Jefferson was Thomas Jefferson's father. See William C. Wooldridge, *Mapping Virginia: From the Age of Exploration to the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 107.

<sup>54</sup> Wooldridge, *Mapping Virginia*, 108; Joshua Fry, Peter Jefferson, and Thomas Jefferys, *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina*, 1751 (London, Thos. Jefferys, 1755), Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/74693166/> (accessed 1 December 2017).

<sup>55</sup> Wooldridge, *Mapping Virginia*, 108.

<sup>56</sup> Evans' map also included a fifty page “description of the face of the country.” George Washington described Evans' map of the western country as “the best Drafts of that Country I have ever yet seen.” See George Washington to Lord Botetourt, 5 October 1770, in *The Correspondence of William Nelson as Acting*

new details about the Greenbrier Valley, including identifying the Howard Creek branch of the “Green Briar R.,” and marking “The 2 farthest settlements in Virginia in 1755” including “J. Keeny’s,” which was the home of John Keeney who was one of the earliest settlers in the area along the Greenbrier River.<sup>57</sup>

### **Greenbrier and the Indian Wars**

In spite of expanding knowledge and details about the Greenbrier Valley depicted on maps through the 1750s, the region’s situation “beyond the pale of government” became even more evident through the early 1760s as Europe’s Seven Years’ War came to the American colonies as the French and Indian War. The on-the-ground experience of backcountry warfare “transformed the frontiers of the colonies into killing fields.”<sup>58</sup> In addition, the war nearly bankrupted Britain’s treasury as the colonies required military backup in the form of thousands of British troops sent to the American frontier, and settlers fought against French and Indian foes to claim trans-Appalachian lands. While much of the warfare occurred northwest of the Shenandoah Valley and newly settled Greenbrier Valley, there was a chain reaction of violence throughout backcountry

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*Governor of Virginia 1770-1771*, ed. John C. Van Horne (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1975), 50-51. <https://archive.org/details/geographicalhist00evan>; Lewis Evans, *Geographical, Historical, Political, Philosophical and Mechanical Essays: The First, Containing an Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America and of the Country of the Confederate Indians...* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1755); Lewis Evans, Thomas Pownall, John Almon, and James Turner. *A map of the middle British colonies in North America. First published by Lewis Evans, of Philadelphia, in 1755; and since corrected and improved, as also extended, with the addition of New England, and bordering parts of Canada; from actual surveys now lying at the Board of Trade.* London, Printed & published ... for J. Almon, 1776. Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/74693076/>. (accessed February 02, 2017).

<sup>57</sup> Lewis Evans, et al. *A map of the middle British colonies in North America*. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/74693076/> (accessed February 02, 2017).

<sup>58</sup> Griffin, *American Leviathan*, 23.



settlements. In the Greenbrier Valley, as in other areas of frontier settlement, settlers abandoned their homes and lands and retreated to the east. Even though the settlers lost their homes, the French and Indian War provided training for many backcountry men and shaped their reputation as fighters and military leaders and Greenbrier identity, which endured through the revolutionary era.

The greatest period of violence for Greenbrier and Virginia's backcountry settlements came in the summer of 1755 with the failure of General Edward Braddock's western expedition designed to capture an entrenched enemy at Fort Duquesne, the site of present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.<sup>59</sup> Braddock's men were ambushed by the French and their Indian allies as they neared Fort Duquesne, and Braddock himself was mortally wounded and his army returned home in shambles. Otis Rice notes that the "disastrous consequences of the Braddock campaign were nowhere more keenly felt than among the frontier settlements of [present-day] West Virginia" as the French, and the Shawnees, Mingoes, and Delawares who allied with them were emboldened and set out on a spree of attacks throughout the backcountry regions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.<sup>60</sup> The western edge of Virginia's backcountry was especially hard hit in spite of plans made by Virginia's Governor Robert Dinwiddie to raise more men "for protect'n of the Frontiers of Augusta" and issue instructions to Augusta County officers James Patton and

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<sup>59</sup> Otis K. Rice, *The Allegheny Frontier: West Virginia Beginnings, 1730-1830* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 40.

<sup>60</sup> Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 40.

Andrew Lewis to “follow such Orders for suppress’g the Enemy as You may see proper” to best protect the Virginia frontier.<sup>61</sup>

Despite these preparations, the Virginia backcountry, and even James Patton himself, remained vulnerable. In July 1755, a group of Shawnees attacked the Draper’s Meadow settlement that was part of a grant given to James Patton in the 1730s by Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie.<sup>62</sup> Patton was an Irishman and backcountry land agent, and he was instrumental in recruiting settlers from Ireland to settle in the Shenandoah Valley.<sup>63</sup> Though he spent much of his time traveling, Patton was visiting Draper’s Meadow when the attack occurred and fought off several assailants before he was mortally wounded.<sup>64</sup> A number of settlers died, including members of the prominent Draper and Ingles families, and the Indians took other residents as prisoners, including Mary Draper Ingles whose account of the experiences is most often recounted.<sup>65</sup>

By August 1755, news of the attack on Draper’s Meadow and James Patton’s death reached Governor Robert Dinwiddie, whereby he wrote to Andrew Lewis to

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<sup>61</sup> Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 41; Robert Dinwiddie to John Patton, 8 July 1755, in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, vol. II, ed. R. A. Brock (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1884), 92-93.

<sup>62</sup> Patricia Givens Johnson, *James Patton and the Appalachian Colonists* (Charlotte, NC: Jostens, 1983), 59-88; B. Scott Crawford, “A Frontier of Fear: Terrorism and Social Tension along Virginia’s Western Waters, 1742-1775,” *West Virginia History: A Journal of Regional Studies*, New Series, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Fall 2008), 1-2.

<sup>63</sup> Draper’s Meadow is on the present-day campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia; Joseph Addison Waddell, *Annals of Augusta, County, Virginia, From 1726-1871* (1901; repr., Forgotten Books, 2012), 30.

<sup>64</sup> A letter from William Nelson, Acting Governor of Virginia from 1770-1771, stated that Patton was killed “as he was escorting Amunition for the Defence of the Settlers on Green Briar;” however, that information is not given elsewhere and does not fit with the traditionally repeated story of Patton’s untimely visit to Draper’s Meadow. See William Nelson to the Secretary of State, 18 October 1770 in *The Correspondence of William Nelson as Acting Governor of Virginia 1770-1771*, ed. John C. Van Horne (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1975), 42.

<sup>65</sup> Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 114-115.

recognize him as the next in command and discuss the recent events.<sup>66</sup> Dinwiddie's letter reveals the challenges of backcountry communication since he did not know if Patton had been able to raise recruits and sent Lewis blank commissions he could use to carry out the orders if needed. In response to the Indian's attack, Dinwiddie encouraged Lewis to divide his company into small groups to seek out the Indians "who have done great Mischief in [Your County]," and expressed his surprise that the "Militia sh'd be silent and not more active to repell these Miscreants."<sup>67</sup> He was also concerned that Indians traveling through Greenbrier after the attack on Draper's Meadow "were not f[rien]dly ones, but the very People y't have done the Mischief."<sup>68</sup> Dinwiddie saw the recent events as an opportunity to strengthen defensive barriers along the frontiers and issued orders to construct forts and block houses throughout Augusta County.<sup>69</sup>

Unbeknownst to Governor Dinwiddie as he addressed Patton's death and defensive strategies moving forward to Andrew Lewis, another Indian attack was taking place, and this time it was in the Greenbrier Valley. On August 12, 1755, a group of Shawnees, who very likely were the Indians Dinwiddie was concerned "were not friendly," attacked settlers near present-day Alderson, West Virginia. According to the *Virginia Gazette*, "Fifty Indians, supposed to be [Shawnees], appeared on Green Briar River[...]killed and captivated Fifteen People, burnt Eleven Houses, and drove off 500

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<sup>66</sup> Governor Robert Dinwiddie to Andrew Lewis, 11 August 1755, in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, vol. II, ed. R. A. Brock (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1884), 151-152.

<sup>67</sup> Dinwiddie to Lewis, 11 August 1755, in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, vol. II, 151-152.

<sup>68</sup> Dinwiddie to Lewis, 11 August 1755, in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, vol. II, 151-152.

<sup>69</sup> Governor Robert Dinwiddie to Governor Sharpe, 25 August 1755, in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, vol. II, ed. R. A. Brock (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1884), 171.

Head of Cattle, Horses &c.”<sup>70</sup> Reacting to the attack, “Several of the Inhabitants fled to a small Fort, they had built in the Neighbourhood for their Security, and were there blocked up by the Enemy Four Days.”<sup>71</sup> Lewis was stationed just seventy miles east of Greenbrier on Jackson’s River, but recruits did not arrive until six days after the attack. William Preston published a list of settlers killed, wounded, or taken prisoner from 1754 to 1758, and he identified eleven deaths and eight women and children taken prisoner in the attack on Greenbrier.<sup>72</sup> Henry Baughman’s name was among the deceased, and local historians argue that his presence along with the account of a neighborhood fort is evidence that the settlers were “forted up” at Baughman’s Fort, which was located on the Greenbrier River between the mouths of Muddy Creek and Wolf Creek.<sup>73</sup>

News of the attack on Greenbrier was far-reaching. The Governor of Maryland, Horatio Sharpe informed Massachusetts Governor William Shirley that the Virginia frontier had been “much infested by Indians since [General] Braddock’s misfortune” and that “The Inhabitants who dwelt in the distant parts of [Virginia] on New River & that

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<sup>70</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Hunter), 19 September 1755, 3

<sup>71</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Hunter), 19 September 1755, 3.

<sup>72</sup> According to William Preston’s Register, those who were taken prisoner were “Mrs. [Walter] Fishpough” and five children, the daughter of Mrs. Cousler” and “Mrs. Ireny.” See William Preston’s Register, Draper MSS1QQ83, Microfilm, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Hereafter collection cited as Microfilm, SHSW; Historian Ian K. Steele identifies daughters Margaret and Susannah Fishpough, or Fishback, and “Mrs. Ireny,” or “Irena,” who were returned. See Ian K. Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2013), 474-475, 491; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 17 January 1765, 1; William S. Ewing, ed., “Indian Captives Released by Colonel Bouquet,” *Western Pennsylvania History Magazine* 39, no. 3 (Fall 1956), 193, 195;

<sup>73</sup> Otis K. Rice argues that the settlers were likely forted at Baughman’s Fort. The fort was located on the south side of the Greenbrier River to the west of the town of Alderson between the mouths of Wolf Creek and Muddy Creek on the site where Federal Prison Camp-Alderson stands today. Otis K. Rice, *History of Greenbrier County* (Parsons, WV: McClain Printing Company, 1986), 22-24.

called Green Brier have all left their Plantations.”<sup>74</sup> Andrew Lewis’ second in command, Captain Peter Hog, also reported abandoned settlements in Greenbrier, writing to George Washington in September 1755 that “the Inhabitants on Green Briar, new Riv[e]r, and Holstens are all scattered from their plantations and have Left the best Crops of Corn in the Colony.”<sup>75</sup> Hog was especially concerned that the Indians would take over the settlers’ homes and fields through the winter months if they abandoned them, and he recognized a need to send men to build additional forts on the rivers and “protect the farmers while they gather their Corn” and secured their crops to encourage continued settlement in the region.<sup>76</sup>

Despite the destruction of homes and livestock and the loss of life, the attack on Greenbrier in 1755 did not completely wipe out the settlements or cause settlers to abandon the area immediately. John Keeney, whose home was identified on the 1755 Lewis Evans map as one of the furthest settlements in Virginia, and his family survived the attack that took Henry Baughman’s life as the Keeney name was not among those killed or taken captive, and the family lived in the Greenbrier Valley during the revolutionary era. The survivors also included Valentine “Felty” Yocum and his father Matthias, whose names were among the first surveys in the Greenbrier Valley and who identified themselves as witnesses to Henry Baughman’s death when the Augusta County

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<sup>74</sup> Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland, to William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, 29 August 1755, in *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe*, vol. I, 1753-1757 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1888), 273.

<sup>75</sup> Peter Hog to George Washington, 23 September 1755, *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers*, vol. I, 1752-1756, ed. Stanislaus Hamilton (Boston: University Press of Cambridge, 1898), 92-93.

<sup>76</sup> Hog to Washington, 23 September 1755, *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers*, vol. I, 92-93; Peter Hog to George Washington, 6 October 1755, in *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers*, vol. I, 1752-1756, ed. Stanislaus Hamilton (Boston: University Press of Cambridge, 1898), 105.

court dealt with his estate.<sup>77</sup> The court records reveal something of the timing of settlers abandoning their homes and fleeing east after the attack as there was time to complete an inventory of Baughman's estate before the records note that the invoice was "left in Greenbrier when drove off by the enemy."<sup>78</sup>

In the months after the attack, Robert Dinwiddie offered his sympathies to Andrew Lewis for the loss of "our Subjects at Green Bryer," and he expressed his belief that the settlers in general had "not acted with proper Spirit in not resist'g the flying Parties of the barbarous Ind's" when he reflected that the Indians were considerably outnumbered by Lewis' militia.<sup>79</sup> A few weeks later, Dinwiddie expressed frustration after that "there were 59 People in the [Fort] at Greenbrier [yet] they did not resist the Attempts of the [Indians], who I hear were not the fourth Part of [that number]," but

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<sup>77</sup> In addition to Felty and Mathias Yocum, Nap. Gregory (who was also among the list of the first land surveys), Robert Allin, and William Elliott were also identified as "Witnesses when they killed the man." See Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia: Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800*, vol. 1 (Rosslyn, VA: National Society Daughters of the American Revolution), 328; For a list of the first Greenbrier Company Surveys, see Handley, "Beginnings of the Occupation of the Greenbrier Area,"; Though there is little conclusive evidence, Robert Dinwiddie refers to 59 people at the Fort at Greenbrier. While it is possible that this fort was located elsewhere in the Greenbrier Valley, the loss of life and number of witnesses lends itself to confirming that settlers at Greenbrier had "forted up" at the time of the attack. See Robert Dinwiddie to Lieutenant Jno. McNeill, 27 September 1755, in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, vol. II, ed. R. A. Brock (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1884), 218.

<sup>78</sup> Additional witnesses were John Gay, John Warrick, Hugh Young and his wife, John Meak and Lawrence Hencemen. In addition to Felty and Mathias Yocum, Nap. Gregory, Robert Allin, and William Elliott were also identified as "Witnesses when they killed the man." See Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia: Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800*, vol. 1 (Rosslyn, VA: National Society Daughters of the American Revolution), 328.

<sup>79</sup> Dinwiddie identifies the death of 13 individuals and it is unclear where his numbers differ; Robert Dinwiddie to Andrew Lewis, 15 September 1755, in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, vol. II, ed. R. A. Brock (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1884), 198-199.

conceded that “probably the People in the Fort were not properly furnish’d with Arms” as the reason for their deficiencies.<sup>80</sup>

While Virginia’s leaders and backcountry settlers often lumped various Native groups together as a single “Indian” foe, Robert Dinwiddie made distinctions between Virginia’s friends and enemies in his letter to Lewis. Dinwiddie explained that 150 Cherokee warriors were expected to remain on the Virginia frontier throughout the winter and asked Lewis to ensure that they were received kindly and given supplies alongside “our own People” as Dinwiddie believed that they would support the Virginians and “with encouragem’t, they promised to go ag’st the Shawnees” who had committed the recent attacks on the region.<sup>81</sup>

By the winter of 1756, the threat of attack and need for constant defensive maneuvers against the Indians, encouraged by their French allies, wore on Governor Dinwiddie, and he ordered offensive action by the Virginians and their Cherokee allies against the Shawnees. The Shawnee Towns were located along the Big Sandy River, which is the modern-day boundary between West Virginia and Kentucky just south of Huntington, West Virginia. Andrew Lewis commanded the expedition and left the newly constructed Fort Dinwiddie on Jackson’s River to rendezvous at Fort Frederick near the

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<sup>80</sup> Robert Dinwiddie to Lieutenant Jno. McNeill, 27 September 1755, in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, vol. II, ed. R. A. Brock (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1884), 218; After the initial statement about the Greenbrier Fort, Dinwiddie goes on to generically discuss events at a “fort” where John McNeill was stationed, but the identity of the fort is unknown, so though some histories consider that information related to the Greenbrier fort, it is unclear.

<sup>81</sup> Robert Dinwiddie to Andrew Lewis, 15 September 1755, in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, vol. II, ed. R. A. Brock (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1884), 199.

New River at present-day Radford, Virginia, with approximately 350 men – 200 to 320 rangers and 80 to 130 Cherokees – before heading west.<sup>82</sup>

The 1756 Sandy Creek Expedition was doomed almost before it began because heavy rains and swollen creeks made the journey treacherous and increased the loss of packhorses and rations, and contributed to poor hunting along the way. William Preston, James Patton's nephew who served as a captain on the expedition, recounted the journey and his experiences in his journal.<sup>83</sup> Leaving Fort Frederick on February 19 ahead of Andrew Lewis, Preston described the trek into the Appalachians and the initial abundance of rations as the men hunted and gathered potatoes from the abandoned plantations they passed during their march.<sup>84</sup> Just a few days later, the difficulty of crossing the mountains in the midst of heavy rain greatly inhibited the expedition's progress. Preston noted that they crossed a creek near the head of Sandy Creek twenty times one evening, and the next day crossed it again sixty-six times in fifteen miles as they navigated the flooded waterways.<sup>85</sup>

Because of the hardships and challenges associated with the Sandy Creek Expedition, William Preston and Andrew Lewis experienced a pattern that was often repeated with backcountry militias throughout the revolutionary era. Virginia's

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<sup>82</sup> Fort Dinwiddie was located seventy miles northeast of Alderson, WV, along Jackson's River; Peter Hog to George Washington, 6 October 1755, in *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers*, vol. I, 1752-1756, ed. Stanislaus Hamilton (Boston: University Press of Cambridge, 1898), 106; Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 44-45.

<sup>83</sup> Patricia Givens Johnson, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Blacksburg, VA: Walpa Publishing, 1992), 33-46).

<sup>84</sup> William Preston's Diary, Sandy Creek Expedition, February 9 – March 13, 1756, Draper MSS1QQ97, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>85</sup> Preston's Diary, Sandy Creek Expedition, February 9 – March 13, 1756.



backcountry militiamen were willing and often eager to strike against the foes who attacked their homes and families; however, they repeatedly demonstrated their intention to serve on their own terms. The combination of rebellious independence and disdain for undeserved authority, and the challenges of acquiring supplies in an isolated and mountainous region encouraged the men to seriously consider the odds of success and act against their officers if they felt they were needlessly placed in danger. This often resulted in the men choosing to “live to fight another day,” even if it meant abandoning their mission and facing charges of desertion rather than take unnecessary risk.

By early March, rations and meat were scarce and many of the men were ready to return home. The men’s frustration increased when a scouting party reported that the rivers were well above their banks, the mountains were steep, the ground water-logged, and game was scarce. Observing the men preparing to abandon the expedition, William Preston convinced them to stay by arguing that his “Character would suffer” if they left before Andrew Lewis arrived.<sup>86</sup> The following day, “after many Arguments & Persuasions” Preston again succeeded in convincing the men to await Lewis’ arrival.<sup>87</sup> Within a few days, however, Preston’s appeals were no longer effective as the men expected they would “Inevitably Perish with hunger which they Looked upon to be more Inglorious than to Return & be yet Serviceable to their Country when properly Provided for” and refused to continue and be drawn farther away from their homes.<sup>88</sup> When

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<sup>86</sup> Preston’s Diary, Sandy Creek Expedition, February 9 – March 13, 1756; Richard Osborn, “William Preston in the American Revolution,” *Journal of Backcountry Studies* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 1-97.

<sup>87</sup> Preston’s Diary, Sandy Creek Expedition, February 9 – March 13, 1756; Osborn, “William Preston,” 1-97.

<sup>88</sup> Preston’s Diary, Sandy Creek Expedition, February 9 – March 13, 1756.

Andrew Lewis arrived, he heard the murmurings of desertion and, after calling the companies together, essentially drew a line in the sand and asked those who would “serve their Country & share his [fate]” to step toward him.<sup>89</sup> Only twenty or thirty men out of several hundred on the expedition chose to join Lewis and a couple days later he decided to abandon the mission and the men returned to their homes.<sup>90</sup>

In the aftermath of the failed Sandy Creek Expedition, violence in the Virginia backcountry continued much as it had previously with attacks on small isolated frontier communities by the Indians and general chaos as settlers fled east. The Sandy Creek expedition was Virginia’s only offensive attempt during the French and Indian War, and its failure was at least partially blamed on Governor Dinwiddie who hurried the expedition without allowing adequate time to gather supplies. Dinwiddie’s haphazard preparations strengthened backcountry settlers’ conviction that eastern colonial officials did not understand backcountry life or offer sincere concern for their safety.<sup>91</sup> In the Greenbrier Valley, despite initially remaining on their lands after the 1755 attack, settlers eventually abandoned the region in the face of growing threats from the Shawnees during the French and Indian War and did not repopulate the area until the 1760s.

By the early 1760s, the French and Indian War seemed to be coming to a close, and Greenbrier’s settlers were eager to return to their homes and lands. Virginia’s Lieutenant Governor, Francis Fauquier, approached the Board of Trade on behalf of the Greenbrier Company and received their support to re-settle the area along with a warning

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<sup>89</sup> Preston’s Diary, Sandy Creek Expedition, February 9 – March 13, 1756.

<sup>90</sup> Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 45-46.

<sup>91</sup> Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 46.

that they should not take any action that would instigate a threat from the Indians.<sup>92</sup>

Within two years, more than fifty families again resided in the Greenbrier Valley, reclaiming their lands and increasing their numbers with the arrival of new settlers. The extended families of Felty Yocum and Frederick Sea were among these settlers, as well as Archibald Clendenin's family who reclaimed the lands surveyed for them ten years earlier.<sup>93</sup>

The names Yocum and Sea, and their many spelling variations, first appear in the Greenbrier region on the list of Greenbrier Company surveys in 1751; however, the families' connections to each other began prior to their arrival in the Greenbrier Valley. Felty Yocum, and his father Matthias, who witnessed Henry Baughman's death in 1755, and Frederick and George Sea, who were likely brothers, moved to Greenbrier from the South Branch of the Potomac River along present-day U.S. Route 220 near Hardy County, West Virginia, in the early 1750s.<sup>94</sup> The previous year, Matthias and his wife Eleanor were identified in the travel diaries of the Moravian Brethren Leonhard Schnell and John Brandmueller, who traveled from Maryland through Pennsylvania and Virginia.<sup>95</sup> Schnell noted that "Matthias Joachim" was not at home, but his wife,

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<sup>92</sup> Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 54-55.

<sup>93</sup> Rice, *History of Greenbrier County*, 26; Other names include: Davis, Howard, Lewis, Madison, McMullen, Wright, See, Robinson, Keeney, McClenachan, Hambleton, Stuart, Ewing, Frogg, Williams, Clendenin; Handley, "Beginnings of the Occupation of the Greenbrier Area," 5-7.

<sup>94</sup> Mathias is identified as Felty's father in his will. See 29 January 1780, "Matthias Yoakum." Botetourt County (Va.), Will Book A, Botetourt County Reel 20, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA. Hereafter, collection cited as LGRC, LVA; Frederick Sea's father was also George; however, he died before 1751. See will and estate records for George Zeh on 27 Aug 1751 and 27 Aug 1752. Augusta County (Va.), Will Book 1, 1745-1753, Augusta County Reel 41, LGRC, LVA

<sup>95</sup> Matthias Yocum would have been about 50 years old at this time, as his age is identified as 66 years in a deposition taken in Bedford County in 1765. See Bedford County (Va.) Order Book 3, 1763-1771, Bedford County Reel 39, LGRC, LVA; William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, "Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no. 2 (Oct., 1903): 113-131.

Eleanor, and children “received us very kindly.”<sup>96</sup> The Moravians offered a snippet of the conversation that took place while they were at the Yocum’s home, writing, “After a while the mother said: ‘My dear people, we hear much evil of you. Again a book has reached us in which many bad things are told about you.’ But the son said: ‘Let that be; we have never heard anything wrong from these people in their sermons. They are all right, etc.’”<sup>97</sup> Despite Eleanor Yocum’s misgivings about the Moravian Brethren, Schnell reported that they stayed at the Yocum’s home overnight. The following day, a Sunday, Leonhard Schnell preached a sermon at their home that was attended by both English and German settlers as he offered his message in both languages. According to Schnell, the Germans in particular “lamented their poor religious condition on the South Branch, not having heard for three years any other sermons than those preached by the Brethren.”<sup>98</sup>

Schnell and Brandmueller continued their journey down the South Branch of the Potomac River and within a day’s journey arrived at the Petersburg Gap where Schnell reported that they “came to the Germans” and called on George Zeh, who was Frederick Sea’s father.<sup>99</sup> Though the Seas did not repeat any of Eleanor Yocum’s initial objections, the neighbors who gathered at the Sea’s home were disheartened by the Moravian Brethren’s unwillingness to baptize their children as they requested. Schnell recorded a conversation he had with George Zeh who asked “Why do you teach that the Saviour

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<sup>96</sup> Matthias Yocum’s wife is identified as “Eleanor” in his will. See “Matthias Yoakum,” Will Book A, Botetourt County, Virginia; Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries,” vol. 11, no. 2, 119.

<sup>97</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries,” vol. 11, no. 2, 119.

<sup>98</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries,” vol. 11, no. 2, 119.

<sup>99</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries,” vol. 11, no. 2, 120.

accepts all men, and yet you refuse to baptize these children?”<sup>100</sup> Schnell replied that it was because the settlers did not give their children sufficient religious training.<sup>101</sup>

Despite any disagreements about theological concerns and baptism, George Zeh, like Eleanor Yocum, willingly offered shelter and travel assistance for the Moravian Brethren. Zeh used his horses to take Schnell and Brandmueller across the Potomac River twice when they returned to the Yocum’s house to preach again before they traveled further south.<sup>102</sup>

Connections between the Yocum and Sea families must be pieced together from myriad records and a dose of circumstantial evidence. Though Matthias Yocum was among the names of Greenbrier’s first land surveys alongside his son Felty, only the Zeh’s sons Frederick and George left the South Branch of the Potomac River and moved to the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>103</sup> In addition to growing up in the same community, it is believed that Felty’s wife, Margaret, was Frederick’s sister, and their mother’s namesake, making them brothers-in-law.<sup>104</sup> In Greenbrier, the men’s names morphed into spelling variations that are more recognizable today with “Joachim” becoming Yocum and “Zeh” becoming See or Sea. The families reestablished themselves in the Greenbrier Valley as

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<sup>100</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries,” vol. 11, no. 2, 120.

<sup>101</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries,” vol. 11, no. 2, 120.

<sup>102</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries,” vol. 11, no. 2, 121.

<sup>103</sup> Matthias Yoakum identifies his “son Felty Yoakums oldest son George his Heir” in his will, which duly suggests that Felty is Matthias’ son and deceased. See “Matthias Yoakum,” Will Book A, Botetourt County, VA; Frederick See is the Administrator of George Zee’s Estate and Appraisement in Augusta County in 1751. See “George Zee/Sea,” Will Book 1, Augusta County, VA, p. 375, 457-459. Frederick See is identified as Margaret See’s “eldest son” in her will from Hampshire County, VA, in 1757. See “Margaret See,” March 28, 1757, Hampshire County Wills, Hampshire County, WV (VA); See Felix Renick, “A Trip to the West” in *American Pioneer*, vol. 1, no. 2 (February 1842), 77.

<sup>104</sup> The name of Margaret Yocum is found among the lists of Indian Captives returned at Fort Pitt in 1765. See Ewing, “Indian Captives Released by Colonel Bouquet,” 195-196; Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 551.

the French and Indian War drew to a close in the early 1760s; however, the period of peace was ultimately short-lived and these families would soon feel the effect of another wave of Indian attacks in region in the 1760s.

In 1763, settlers reestablishing themselves in the Greenbrier Valley were unaware that they would soon experience another period of violence as part of what is typically referred to as Pontiac's War.<sup>105</sup> By the early 1760s, many Native groups embraced Delaware prophet Neolin's call for Indians to reject all elements of white society, including European weapons, alcohol, and trade, and fully return to their pre-contact way of life.<sup>106</sup> As Native peoples adopted Neolin's message, there was a domino-effect of violence through the backcountry, beginning at Britain's outpost at Detroit, which was acquired as a result of the French and Indian War, and expanding from the Great Lakes region through the Ohio Country, and to South Carolina and Arkansas.<sup>107</sup>

Though it was a brief period compared to the years of the French and Indian War, the violence associated with Pontiac's War resulted in tremendous loss of life, captivity, and the destruction of frontier settlements. Pontiac's attack on Fort Detroit occurred in May 1763, and the violence reached the Virginia backcountry in July when more than fifty Shawnees led by Keightughqua, "the Cornstalk," principal chief of the Mequashake

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<sup>105</sup> Pontiac, an Ottawa leader, coordinated these attacks; Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War: Its Causes, Course, and Consequences* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 61-64; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 33-34.

<sup>106</sup> For an extensive discussion of Neolin's teachings, see Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, & the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 94-105; Middleton, *Pontiac's War*, 61-64; Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 33-34; Robert M. Owens, *Red Dreams, White Nightmares: Pan-Indian Alliances in the Anglo-American Mind, 1763-1815* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 23-25; Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 16-17.

<sup>107</sup> Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 114.

band of the Shawnees, attacked settlements in the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>108</sup> Historian Gregory Evans Dowd writes that the ultimate purpose of Pontiac's War was driving British settlers and troops across the Allegheny Mountains and it unfolded "with cruel logic and clear purpose."<sup>109</sup> This violence spread to Greenbrier with attacks on the Muddy Creek settlement, which was home to the Yocum and Sea families as well others families whose names are unknown, and Archibald Clendenin's nearby community.<sup>110</sup>

Less is known about Archibald Clendenin's family prior to their arrival in the Greenbrier Valley than the Sea and Yocum families; however, the Clendenin name is synonymous with the Indian attacks in Greenbrier during Pontiac's War. Archibald Clendenin and his family settled at the edge of the Great Levels about three miles west of present-day Lewisburg, West Virginia, in a small valley known as Rich Hollow.<sup>111</sup> The "Clendenin Massacre" was the most well-known Indian attack in the Greenbrier Valley at this time; however, there were few contemporary, or nearly contemporary, accounts of the attack, so it is difficult to separate fact from fiction. John Stuart, Greenbrier County's first clerk, who wrote a memoir describing the history of early Greenbrier, provided the earliest account of the 1763 attacks, though he did not witness them himself. Stuart wrote that the Indians first arrived at the Muddy Creek settlement and then attacked the Clendenin settlement the next day. In both places the Indians were thought to be

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<sup>108</sup> Colin G. Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America* (New York: Viking, 2007), 56-58; Ian K. Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 163-164.

<sup>109</sup> Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 114.

<sup>110</sup> Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 114.

<sup>111</sup> Gerald S. Ratliff, "Clendenin Family," e-WV: West Virginia Encyclopedia 20 (June 2012), <http://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/1303> (accessed 23 February 2016); Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers*, 21, 225. According to Dayton, Archibald and his brother Charles came to the area together with Charles and his family settling along the Kanawha River while Archibald settled in Rich Hollow.

entertained by the settlers before killing or capturing everyone at a prearranged signal.<sup>112</sup> Though the attacks took place a day apart, settlers in Rich Hollow were unaware of the events the previous day at Muddy Creek and, according to tradition, had gathered at Archibald Clendenin's to celebrate a successful elk hunt. Conrad Yocum, Felty Yocum's brother, was at the Clendenin settlement at the time of the attack and was the sole individual to escape death or captivity.<sup>113</sup> He was not in the house and rushed to warn the settlements on Jackson's River. While all of the men, except Conrad Yocum, were killed, many of the women and children were taken captive, including Catherine Sea and her children, George, John, Margaret, Mary, Michael, and Sarah, as well as Margaret Yocum and her children Sarah, George, and Elizabeth, and Ann Clendenin with her daughter Jean, an unidentified son, and an infant.<sup>114</sup>

Other backcountry settlers were killed or taken captive alongside the Sea, Yocum, and Clendenin families, but their identity remains unknown because of the scarcity of sources, so Ann Clendenin's account is one of the best remembered, in part because she managed to escape within a few days of her captivity.<sup>115</sup> As the Shawnees left the Greenbrier Valley and marched their captives west over Keeney's Knob, tradition states that Clendenin gave her baby to another woman in order to escape. Supposedly her

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<sup>112</sup> John Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars and other occurrences, 1749-1780," Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

<sup>113</sup> Conrad Yocum lived in the Greenbrier Valley in the 1770s; however, the date of his return to the region is unknown as the Royal Proclamation of 1763 was enacted shortly after the attacks and scholars generally concur that Greenbrier was not resettled until 1769. See Rice, *History of Greenbrier County*, 28; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 170.

<sup>114</sup> For a full list of the women and children taken captive at Greenbrier, see Ewing, "Indian Captives Released by Colonel Bouquet," 195-196; Ian K. Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 439-551.

<sup>115</sup> Stuart wrote that Ann "told him" this account herself. See John Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars and other occurrences, 1749-1780," Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.



Shawnee captors discovered that she was missing when the baby began to cry and they killed the infant in hopes that it would draw her from hiding, but she had already fled the area. Clendenin reached her home at Rich Hollow at night and found her deceased husband and another child in front of their house, so she covered their bodies before continuing her journey east to settlements on the Cowpasture River.<sup>116</sup> What is perhaps most striking about the experiences of Ann Clendenin and others who were taken captive and escaped or were released, is that they often made their way back to the Greenbrier Valley and reestablished themselves on the same lands in spite of a continual threat of Indian attack.

The attacks associated with the French and Indian War and Pontiac's War had a tremendous impact on the Greenbrier Valley as the region's new settlements were nearly wiped out in the 1750s and reestablished in the 1760s only to be decimated again. Gregory Evans Dowd notes that the Shawnees' destruction of Greenbrier Valley settlements was strategic because the area "marked a dangerous westward thrust of British settlement" where Virginians had crossed the Appalachian Mountains.<sup>117</sup> By the end of Pontiac's War, the Shawnees, due to their focus on this protruding region of settlement into western lands, had more captives from the Greenbrier region than anywhere else, with the Jackson's River settlements just to Greenbrier's east, as a close second.

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<sup>116</sup> Harry Handley, "The Clendenin Massacre," *Journal of the Greenbrier Historical Society* II, no. 2 (October 1970), 7.

<sup>117</sup> Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 143.

Although those who were taken captive might have felt some relief that they survived the attack itself, they still faced tremendous uncertainty for their lives as they were forced to leave their homes and the carnage behind. Captives, who were most often women and children, had likely witnessed the death of a husband or father, mother, siblings, or extended family and friends, and the journey with the Indians through the mountains offered additional risk as their captors could be provoked into killing them. In western Pennsylvania and Virginia, one in seventeen captives died within a week of their capture.<sup>118</sup> If captives survived the trek to the Indian towns, they were split up and often incorporated into Indian communities through adoption, where they would be treated as part of their new Indian family. The adoption practice contrasted with British practices of taking captives for future exchange and leverage, and as historian Ian Steele notes, made a particularly bold statement about cultural confidence on the part of the Native Americans because they willingly integrated the settlers into their own homes and families.<sup>119</sup>

By 1763, the Greenbrier Valley had been settled for more than a decade, and yet three Indian attacks destroyed the neighborhood communities and essentially eliminated European settlement in the region.<sup>120</sup> Although the Crown and Virginia Council initially intended for western settlements to be a buffer-zone for the eastern areas, they found that

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<sup>118</sup> Steele notes that only 1 in 66 captives were killed within one week on the New England frontier. See Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 187.

<sup>119</sup> Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 185.

<sup>120</sup> Joseph Waddell noted that after the attacks the “last vestiges of white settlements in the Greenbrier country were exterminated. The number of whites living there is believed to have been at least a hundred. From 1763 to 1769 the country was uninhabited.” See Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 170.

the constant stream of settlers inching ever-westward into Native American lands created new problems for Virginia. Though settlers moved back into the Greenbrier Valley at the end of the French and Indian War, the violence of Pontiac's War, and the destruction of the Muddy Creek and Rich Hollow settlements, again pushed people east and forced settlers to reconsider the risk they took to settle on the Virginia frontier. As a result of the tensions and violence after the end of the French and Indian War, Britain also evaluated the cost of colonial settlement and sought a way to establish and preserve peace with western Indians.

### **Establishing Boundaries: Proclamations and Treaties on the Western Frontier**

After a summer of bloodshed, the British government issued a Proclamation in an attempt to preserve their territories and prevent further alienation of Native peoples, or their defection to the French. Issued on October 7, 1763, the Proclamation identified Britain's land claims in North America, and the limits of those lands, and effectively halted settlement west of the Allegheny Front of the Appalachian Mountains for several years (see Figure 9).<sup>121</sup> From Quebec to Florida, the line ran along the Eastern Continental Divide as the Proclamation described a boundary based on the directional flow of the rivers with the lands and territories reserved for Native Americans "lying to the westward of the sources of the Rivers which fall into the Sea from the West and North West."<sup>122</sup> The Eastern Continental Divide runs parallel to the Greenbrier Valley

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<sup>121</sup> *British Royal Proclamations Relating to America*, vol. 12 (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1911), 212; Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 58-59; Griffin, *American Leviathan*, 21-22.

<sup>122</sup> *British Royal Proclamations*, vol. 12, 215; Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 58-59.

and about eleven miles to its east, so the Greenbrier region fell just beyond the areas of approved English settlement.

The 1763 Proclamation specifically addressed settlers and speculators who were expected to push back against the Crown's decree, yet it also maintained a loophole for the Crown to grant lands.<sup>123</sup> The Proclamation stated that British subjects were "strictly forbid, on Pain of Our Displeasure" from "making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved, without Our especial Leave and Licence for that Purpose first obtained."<sup>124</sup> In addition to preventing new settlement on western lands by the average backcountry settler, the Proclamation further required those "who have either willfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any Lands within the Countries above described, or upon any other Lands, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by Us," which were reserved for the Indians, to "remove themselves from such Settlements."<sup>125</sup> The decision to implement the line would hopefully prevent the "great Frauds and Abuses [that] have been committed in the purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of Our Interests, and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order therefore to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the End that the Indians may be convinced of Our Justice."<sup>126</sup>

The Crown, with the advice of the Privy Council, also stated that no private person could purchase lands from the Indians and that should any Native peoples decide

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<sup>123</sup> Dowd, *War Under Heaven*, 177-178.

<sup>124</sup> *British Royal Proclamations*, vol. 12, 215; Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 58-59.

<sup>125</sup> *British Royal Proclamations*, vol. 12, 215; Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 58-59.

<sup>126</sup> *British Royal Proclamations*, vol. 12, 216.

to dispose of their lands, they would be “purchased only for Us, in Our Name, at some Publick Meeting or Assembly” from the Indian group and be held “by the Governor or Commander in Chief of Our Colonies respectively, within which they shall lie.”<sup>127</sup>

Although scholars often note settlers ignoring the Proclamation and continuing to move west, in the Greenbrier Valley, there was no evidence of immediate re-settlement in the area after the Indian attacks in 1763 destroyed the Sea, Yocum, and Clendenin families and their communities.<sup>128</sup> Evidence of new settlers moving into the region does not exist until the late 1760s, so it appears settlers observed the Crown’s Proclamation and that it served as both a physical and legal barrier for anyone who hoped to settle in the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>129</sup>

Shortly after the 1763 Proclamation, Virginia’s colonial officials and the Board of Trade began petitioning to move the line westward and re-open the trans-Appalachian region for settlement and speculation. Five years later, the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Hard Labor, and the goodwill of Virginia’s new Governor Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, shifted the line westward; however, it was not without conflict (see Figure 10). The 1768 Treaty at Fort Stanwix was orchestrated by William Johnson, who was the northern superintendent of Indian Affairs, while John Stuart, the superintendent of Indian Affairs in the south, not to be confused with Greenbrier’s prominent citizen and county

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<sup>127</sup> *British Royal Proclamations*, vol. 12, 217.

<sup>128</sup> For a discussion of settlers and speculators beyond the Proclamation Line of 1763, see Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 29-31; Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, vol. 1 (Orange, VA: Green Publishers, Inc., 1980), 28-29.

<sup>129</sup> Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 59; Rice, *History of Greenbrier County*, 28.

clerk of the same name, met with the Cherokees at Hard Labor, South Carolina. Though some historians argue that these treaties did not successfully undo the 1763 Proclamation line, the treaties in 1768 did reopen the Greenbrier Valley to settlers who finally established the first truly permanent communities in the region.<sup>130</sup>

At the November 1768 council at Fort Stanwix, Iroquois leaders and several thousand Indians formally conceded lands to Britain's representative William Johnson, as well as other provincial officials, land jobbers, and speculators like Andrew Lewis, representing the Greenbrier Company, and Thomas Walker, representing the Loyal Land Company, who were in attendance.<sup>131</sup> Though the Board of Trade instructed Johnson only to purchase lands reaching the confluence of the Ohio and Kanawha River, he instead negotiated for a territory that followed the Ohio River to include Kentucky at the intersection of the Ohio and Tennessee rivers at present-day Paducah, Kentucky.<sup>132</sup> The Iroquois representatives agreed to the larger territory, stating that the line would "be fixed between the English & us to ascertain & establish our Limitts and prevent those intrusions & encroachments of which we had so long and loudly complained and to put a

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<sup>130</sup> Woody Holton argued that the 1768 treaties were ineffective at undoing the 1763 line; however, he lumped present-day West Virginia and Kentucky together and, therefore, overlooked the impact that the 1768 treaties had on the near-west regions along the Greenbrier and Kanawha rivers. See Woody Holton, "Ohio Indians and the Coming of the American Revolution in Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 60, no. 3 (August 1994), 453; Oren F. Morton, *A History of Monroe County West Virginia* (Staunton, VA: McClure Company, Inc., 1916), 28.

<sup>131</sup> Holton, "Ohio Indians," 460; Matthew L. Rhoades, *Long Knives and the Longhouse: Anglo-Iroquois Politics and the Expansion of Colonial Virginia* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2011), 167-169; "Land jobbers" were men hired on the frontier to mark off land and make the initial preemptive improvements for the land owner who was often an absentee landowner. See Neal O. Hammon, "Settlers, Land Jobbers, and Outliers: A Quantitative Analysis of Land Acquisition on the Kentucky Frontier," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 84, no. 3 (Summer 1986), 241-242.

<sup>132</sup> Rhoades, *Long Knives and the Longhouse*, 166; For a detailed discussion of the treaty, Johnson's negotiation, and the actions of other key players, see William J. Campbell, *Speculators in Empire: Iroquoia and the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).

stop to the many fraudulent advantages which had been so often taken of us in Land affairs.”<sup>133</sup> Though taking a risk by establishing a boundary beyond his instructions, Johnson, who was a speculator himself, knew the longer treaty line would please Virginia officials and land speculators.<sup>134</sup> Johnson’s treaty faced additional challenges, as he willfully or negligently overlooked the fact that the Iroquois did not actually claim the lands that they sold to Virginia and had effectively sold lands out from under the Shawnees, who had at one time been their dependents, and the Delawares, as well as an older enemy, the Cherokees, who were farther to the south.<sup>135</sup> By making this cession, the Iroquois ensured that the British colonies’ expansion occurred to the south away from their northern territories.<sup>136</sup>

While William Johnson overreached his instructions, the southern superintendent John Stuart negotiated with the Cherokees at Hard Labor, South Carolina, to establish a southern boundary that closely followed his directives from the Board of Trade. Stuart’s line came from North Carolina to Chiswell’s Mines, at the intersection of present-day Interstate 77 and Interstate 81 in southwest Virginia, then stretched northwest across present-day West Virginia along the southern side of the Kanawha River to its confluence with the Ohio River at present-day Point Pleasant, West Virginia.<sup>137</sup> The treaty also

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<sup>133</sup> “Proceedings of Sir William Johnson with the Indians,” 4-8 March, 1768, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. VIII, eds. John Romeyn Brodhead and E. B. O’Callaghan (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1857), 135-136.

<sup>134</sup> Holton, “Ohio Indians,” 460.

<sup>135</sup> Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 352.

<sup>136</sup> Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 189.

<sup>137</sup> “Treaty between the Cherokee Nation and John Stuart, agent of George III, King of Great Britain, concerning the boundary between Cherokee land and Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina,” 14 October 1768, in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. VII, ed. William Laurence Saunders

guaranteed that “no alteration whatsoever shall henceforward be made in the Boundary lines[...]except such as may hereafter be found Expedient & Necessary for the mutual Interests of both parties;” however, Johnson’s extended boundary at Fort Stanwix ensured that the Virginians would quickly decide that revisiting Stuart’s line was in everyone’s best interest.<sup>138</sup>

When Virginia’s new royal governor, Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, received news about the boundaries set by Johnson and Stuart, he strategized with Andrew Lewis and Thomas Walker, who were present at the Fort Stanwix treaty, to undo Stuart’s boundary and establish a line more favorable for Virginia that would include an area farther south than the Kanawha River as well as part of present-day Kentucky.<sup>139</sup> Botetourt instructed Lewis and Walker to meet with Stuart to acquaint him with “the necessity of a fresh plan of operation with respect to the Boundary to be fixed between the Cherokee Indians and His Majesty’s Colony of Virginia.”<sup>140</sup> The men were specifically to “convince Mr. Stuart that the Line he proposes to run from Chiswell’s mine to the mouth of the Great Konhaway, will so much contract the limits of this Colony, as to make it extremely prejudicial to His Majesty’s Service, as well as injurious

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(Raleigh, NC: P. M. Hale, Printer to the State, 1886), 851-855. *Documenting the American South*. University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, 2007. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0350> .

<sup>138</sup> “Treaty between the Cherokee Nation and John Stuart, agent of George III, King of Great Britain, concerning the boundary between Cherokee land and Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina,” 14 October 1768, in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. VII, ed. William Laurence Saunders (Raleigh, NC: P. M. Hale, Printer to the State, 1886), 851-855. *Documenting the American South*. University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, 2007. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr07-0350> .

<sup>139</sup> “Instructions from Lord Botetourt to Col. Lewis and Dr. Walker,” 20 December 1768, in “Virginia and the Cherokees, &c. The Treaties of 1768 and 1770,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 13, no. 1 (July 1905), 28.

<sup>140</sup> “Instructions from Lord Botetourt,” 20 December 1768, 28.



to the people who have been encouraged to settle to the Westward of his propos'd Boundary."<sup>141</sup> Expressing frustration that Stuart did not consult Virginia about the boundaries before the treaty council, Botetourt demonstrated typical colonial disregard and lack of understanding about Native peoples and their lands as he wrote that "the Cherokees have no just title to the Lands" since they were "claimed and have been sold to His Majesty" by the Iroquois, who, of course, had sold the land without authorization from the Native peoples who actually lived on or hunted those lands.<sup>142</sup>

In early February 1769, Andrew Lewis and Thomas Walker submitted the report of their interactions with John Stuart to Lord Botetourt.<sup>143</sup> They explained that when they "fully informed [Stuart] of our business" he responded that "the Boundary between the Cherokees and Virginia was fully settled and ratified in Great Britain, and that any proposal of that kind would be very alarming to them, but after some time agreed we might mention it to them."<sup>144</sup> Following their instructions from Botetourt, Lewis and Walker argued that they were particularly concerned about settlers who were already situated between Chiswell's Mines and the Great Island on Holston's River beyond the Hard Labor line.<sup>145</sup> The proposed line "would be a great disadvantage to the Crown of Great Britain, and would injure many subjects of Britain that now inhabit that part of the Frontier" and they offered Stuart a list of the various acts, grants, and treaties beginning

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<sup>141</sup> "Instructions from Lord Botetourt," 20 December 1768, 28.

<sup>142</sup> "Instructions from Lord Botetourt," 20 December 1768, 28-29.

<sup>143</sup> "Report of Col. Lewis and Dr. Walker to Lord Botetourt," 2 February 1769, in "Virginia and the Cherokees, &c. The Treaties of 1768 and 1770," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 13, no. 1 (July 1905), 30-36.

<sup>144</sup> "Report of Lewis and Walker," 2 February 1769, 31.

<sup>145</sup> "Report of Lewis and Walker," 2 February 1769, 32.

in the 1740s, which gave Virginia claim to all lands stretching to the Mississippi River.<sup>146</sup>

The damage to Britain, they argued, would be both because of personal loss for settlers who were already living “within the limits of the Cherokee Hunting Grounds,” as well as the financial loss of quit-rents to the Crown.<sup>147</sup>

Though losing territory, Lewis and Walker reported that the Cherokee Nation responded favorably to their concerns as they hoped the newly established boundary would keep the Virginians away from Cherokee lands. A statement by a Cherokee leader named Osteneco, or Judd’s Friend, expressed concern that, after hearing about current settlements along the Holston River in Virginia, “a great number of their people will fall within the bounds of our Country, which would greatly distress those our poor brothers, which is far from our intention.”<sup>148</sup> Oconostota, the Beloved Man of the Cherokees, is reported to have said “we want to keep the Virginians at as great a distance as possible as they are generally bad men and love to steal horses and hunt deer[...].”<sup>149</sup> To put greater distance between themselves and the Virginians, the Cherokees were willing to negotiate to adjust the boundary “that [it] may include all those people settled on our lands in the bounds of Virginia.”<sup>150</sup> Both the Virginians and Cherokees spoke of the boundary as an

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<sup>146</sup> “Report of Lewis and Walker,” 2 February 1769, 34.

<sup>147</sup> “Report of Lewis and Walker,” 2 February 1769, 35.

<sup>148</sup> Osteneco was a member of the Wolf Clan of the Overhill Cherokees. See D. H. Corkran, “Osteneco (Judd’s Friend) (1705?-1777?),” in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, vol. 4, L-O, ed. William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 405-406; “Report of Lewis and Walker,” 2 February 1769, 35.

<sup>149</sup> The exact source of Oconostota’s quotation seems to be lost, but it is referenced in Alan Gallay’s encyclopedia of the colonial wars of North America. See Alan Gallay, ed., *Colonial Wars of North America, 1512-1763* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2015), 515; “Report of Lewis and Walker,” 2 February 1769, 35.

<sup>150</sup> Gallay, *Colonial Wars*, 515; “Report of Lewis and Walker,” 2 February 1769, 35.

enclosure for the other group. For the Virginians, the land outside the boundary line marked the “limits of the Cherokee Hunting Grounds,” while for the Cherokees the line was a vital attempt to contain Virginia’s sprawling settlements.<sup>151</sup>

Andrew Lewis and Thomas Walker’s proposed boundary offered space for immediate expansion, but also ensured Virginia could expand western settlements for another decade. In addition to giving “room to extend our settlements for ten or twelve years,” Lewis and Walker noted that the new boundary would benefit the Colony and Crown financially as it would “raise a considerable sum by the Rights, much increase the Quit-rents, and enable the Inhabitants of Virginia to live thus manufacturing such material as they raise”<sup>152</sup> The new line would fall at “36 Degrees 30 minutes North Latitude,” which was a line that would later have greater prominence in United States history as the line of the Missouri Compromise, and already served as “the proper division between Lord Granville’s Proprietary and the Dominion of Virginia,” following along the present-day boundary between Virginia and North Carolina and then veering northwest.<sup>153</sup> The new boundary added all of present-day southwestern Virginia and southern West Virginia to Virginia’s claims and opened the route for western expansion from Greenbrier on both sides of the Kanawha River.

By the spring of 1769, Lord Botetourt had certainly been made aware of Britain’s concerns that pushing the boundary line would result in another costly war, but by 1770,

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<sup>151</sup> “Report of Lewis and Walker,” 2 February 1769, 35.

<sup>152</sup> Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786, Washington County, 1777-1870* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1979), 102.

<sup>153</sup> Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 102.

a new treaty council met at Alexander Cameron's South Carolina plantation that effectively voided much of what was implemented in the treaties at Fort Stanwix and Hard Labor the previous year and implemented the new boundary Lewis and Walker suggested.<sup>154</sup> Despite Britain's fears that moving the western treaty lines would instigate a war between colonial subjects and the Cherokees and their coalition of powerful Indian Nations, the treaty council at Lochaber included representatives from all parties involved.

The Treaty of Lochaber designated a newly defined boundary replacing the Treaty of Hard Labor. More than a dozen Cherokee leaders, including Attakullakulla, also known as Little Carpenter, and one thousand Cherokees attended the treaty council at Lochaber. To represent Virginia, Southern Indian Agent John Stuart was joined by John Donelson, who was a surveyor, justice of the peace, colonel of the county militia, and delegate to Virginia's House of Burgesses from Pittsylvania County.<sup>155</sup> Pittsylvania County was located in the southern backcountry along the Virginia–North Carolina border just east of Augusta County and Chiswell's Mines surrounding present-day Danville, Virginia. At the treaty council, John Donelson presented Virginia's statement and desire to "remove all the causes of complaints" while Stuart proposed the new line extending westward along the Virginia–North Carolina border, turning north near present-day Kingsport, Tennessee, and reaching the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio

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<sup>154</sup> Holton, "Ohio Indians," 467-468.

<sup>155</sup> Richard Douglas Spence, "John Donelson and the Opening of the Old Southwest," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (Fall 1991), 157-158; "At a Council held at the Palace," 6 August 1770, in *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia 1754-1773*, vol. 6, ed. H. R. McIlwaine, (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1925), 361; John Donelson's daughter Rachel married Andrew Jackson. See Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775-1850* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), 28.

rivers at present-day Point Pleasant.<sup>156</sup> The Cherokees agreed to the boundary with some modifications, particularly a refusal to cede Long Island, a four-mile long island in the Holston River at present-day Kingsport, because of concerns that the Virginians would establish a fort there. Instead of including Long Island, the boundary turned north six miles to its east.

John Donelson's negotiations at the treaty council gained him the respect of the Cherokees, though the Virginia Council was unhappy to learn that Long Island was excluded from the territory, and he was appointed survey for the treaty line.<sup>157</sup> Donelson's surveying party included Attakullakulla, as a representative for the Cherokees, and Alexander "Scotchie" Cameron, who had married a Cherokee woman and used his home at Lochaber Plantation as the site of the treaty, as well as several interpreters.<sup>158</sup>

During five months in 1771, John Donelson and the surveying party traveled the route of the new treaty line ensuring that both the Virginians and Cherokees approved of the survey, though the Shawnees who hunted in the area were never consulted. When the group reached the turn northward, Donelson reported that Attakullakulla observed that "his Nation delighted in having their Lands marked out by Natural Boundaries" and proposed that instead of a straight line, the treaty boundary should "break off at the Head of Louisa River and run thence to the mouth thereof and thence up the Ohio to the Mouth

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<sup>156</sup> Spence, "John Donelson and the Opening of the Old Southwest," 159.

<sup>157</sup> Spence, "John Donelson and the Opening of the Old Southwest," 160.

<sup>158</sup> See James H. O'Donnell III, "Alexander Cameron," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, vol. 1, A-C, ed. William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 309.

of the great Kanhawa.”<sup>159</sup> In modern terms, this line would go due north from the Virginia-North Carolina border east of present-day Kingsport, Tennessee, to present-day Nelse, KY, where it would begin winding its way north along what is now the Levisa River and reach the Ohio River just west of present-day Huntington, West Virginia. Richard Douglas Spence notes that this western shift for the sake of “Natural Boundaries” began other deviations from the proposed boundary “first in small ways, then in larger ones” and argues that Attakullakulla sought to “deflect white settlement to the northwest, toward the Shawnees and Delawares, and away from the southwestwardly-flowing Holston and Clinch rivers that led to the heart of Cherokee country.”<sup>160</sup> As Donelson’s party continued their surveying, Attakullakulla proposed that the treaty line cross the Cumberland Mountains to the Kentucky River’s headwaters and on to the Ohio River, and Donelson promised an additional £500 in compensation as he accepted the suggestion.<sup>161</sup> This shift added a large territory to Virginia’s claims as it even went past the northern boundary established by the Treaty at Fort Stanwix.

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<sup>159</sup> “II. Depositions concerning Claims to Lands under Purchases from the Indians, [April 1777–October 1778],” *Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified December 28, 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-02-02-0033-0003>; Tom Hatley, *Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Revolutionary Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 213.

<sup>160</sup> Spence, “John Donelson and the Opening of the Old Southwest,” 160.

<sup>161</sup> There was some confusion over Donelson’s surveys as he mislabeled the Kentucky River as the more eastern “Louisa” (known today as Levisa), so the territory he surveyed appeared smaller and more easterly than originally intended. Spence writes that Donelson’s “exercise of initiative was not appreciated by his superiors, whose dissatisfaction was compounded by the error of a mislabeled map;” however, the Virginia Council still thought well of him and “soon the unpleasantness caused by the Lochaber survey was forgotten.” Donelson continued to serve in the House of Burgesses and surveyed the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina beyond the Appalachian Mountains. See Spence, “John Donelson and the Opening of the Old Southwest,” 161; Though Donelson offered the Cherokees £500 in return for Little Carpenters suggestion that offered the Virginians even more territory, they never say the money. See Craig Thompson Friend, *Kentucke’s Frontiers* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), 49.

By the time John Donelson finished surveying the boundary in 1771, the Cherokees had roughly ten million fewer acres along the tributaries of the Ohio, and the Shawnees, who regularly engaged with backcountry Virginians throughout the revolutionary era, lost a swath of their hunting grounds without even being consulted.<sup>162</sup> When Virginians arrived at the Shawnee Town Chillicothe a few years later, they informed Cornstalk that they had rights to the land because of the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Lochaber. While Cornstalk replied that he would not reject their claims, he warned them to protect the Shawnees' hunting grounds and keep their men from overhunting.<sup>163</sup> After the treaties of the late 1760s and early 1770s undid the Proclamation Line, new settlers rushed to claim open lands in the Greenbrier Valley, whether they did so legally or simply as squatters expecting to file legal land claims at a later time. Settlers whose names were among the first surveys and had survived the years of Indian attacks, finally had a known physical presence in the region.<sup>164</sup>

### **Settling Greenbrier in Earnest**

By the early 1770s, the series of treaties from Fort Stanwix, to Hard Labor, and Lochaber resolved territorial questions along the swath of land stretching from the Shenandoah Valley to the Ohio River as far as Britain was concerned, and settlers moved

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<sup>162</sup> Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 213; Friend, *Kentucke's Frontiers*, 50.

<sup>163</sup> Friend, *Kentucke's Frontiers*, 50.

<sup>164</sup> John Keeney is an example of a settler whose name was among the early surveys as well as listed as one of the furthest western settlements on Lewis Evans' 1755 map, but was otherwise absent from the documentary record. Whether he and his family survived the Indian attacks of the 1750s and 1760s and remained in Greenbrier beyond the 1763 Proclamation Line, or returned east to the Shenandoah Valley for a period, is unknown. See Evans, Pownall, Almon, and Turner. *A map of the middle British colonies in North America*; Handley, "Beginnings of the Occupation of the Greenbrier Area," 6-7.

into the region with new determination to stake their land claims. This was the beginning of truly permanent settlement in the region. Settlers lived without a major threat of warfare for several years, and concerns about Indian attacks, though still real, no longer drove them from the region. Several of the families who first settled in the area already knew each other. They were instrumental in establishing the western settlements, and these individuals, their families and kinship connections, and the communities they formed were the backbone of the Greenbrier Valley's population growth through the early 1770s.

As people settled in the Greenbrier Valley, they did so in neighborhood communities across a geographic region spanning 100 miles from north to south and thirty miles from east to west, with more than a dozen named communities developing during the first several decades of settlement (see Figure 11). Beginning in the north, the "Little Levels" was situated near present-day Hillsboro and Mill Point, West Virginia. Moving down the valley from the Little Levels along U.S. Route 219, the Spring Creek area included present day Renick and Frankford and offered an abundance of relatively level land along the Greenbrier River and its offshoots. The "Levels," sometimes referred to as the "Big" or "Great" Levels, and occasionally combined with descriptions of the Spring Creek area, provided a counter to the Little Levels and encompassed the largest area of the Greenbrier Valley around present-day Lewisburg. To the east of the Levels, the mouths of Anthony Creek and Howard Creek moved from the Greenbrier River to their headwaters in the northeast near the present-day West Virginia-Virginia border. Sinking Creek was to the west of the Levels and included several smaller valleys



parallel to the larger section of the Greenbrier Valley, and Muddy Creek was to the southwest. The Greenbrier River cut across the Valley along the south side of Muddy Creek Mountain and the communities to the south of that point were occasionally lumped together and described as the area “from the Influx of Mudie Creek down;” however, they included discrete communities along Wolf Creek, Indian Creek, and the “Sinkhole lands.”

The Sinkhole lands, also simply referred to as “the Sinks” are a geological phenomenon prevalent throughout the Greenbrier Valley because of the karst topography, which is created by the gradual dissolution of the limestone landscape just below the surface.<sup>165</sup> This karst topography results in sinkholes, streams that alternate between above ground waterways and underground channels flowing through caves, and large springs. The most extensive karst topography in West Virginia is found in the Greenbrier Valley as part of present-day Pocahontas, Greenbrier, and Monroe counties.

When Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell settled in Greenbrier in 1749, they did so in the northern Greenbrier Valley above the area known as the Little Levels; however, the first well-known communities were farther south along the routes described by J.F.D. Smyth out of Staunton, Virginia, and the path the Moravian Brethren saw near Fincastle and Roanoke. The largest early settlements in the 1750s were situated within five miles of Muddy Creek Mountain, and it was in that region of the Greenbrier Valley that the

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<sup>165</sup> Ryan Shaver “Underground Streams of the Greenbrier Valley,” <http://pages.geo.wvu.edu/~wilson/geol1/shaver.htm> (accessed March 3, 2017); William K. Jones, “Karst,” West Virginia Encyclopedia, <http://www.wvencyclopedia.org/print/Article/1141> (accessed March 3, 2017).

1755 and 1763 Indian attacks, resulting in death and captivity for many settlers, including the Baughmans, Seas, Yocums, and Clendenins, occurred.<sup>166</sup>

Beyond the settlements around Muddy Creek Mountain, the Spring Creek area along present-day U.S. Route 219, just south of the Little Levels was one of the most identifiable and well-documented sections of the Greenbrier Valley, so it offers a snapshot of settlement in the region and the role of kinship in the development of the Greenbrier Valley's communities (see Figure 12). While it was unclear exactly where areas like the "Levels" began and ended, Spring Creek was identifiable in part because of its defined geography between the Greenbrier River as its eastern boundary and Spring Creek, which branches off the Greenbrier River to the west and cuts diagonally across the Greenbrier Valley.

Although settlement in the Greenbrier Valley was challenging in the early years, many of the first settlers to the area became some of Greenbrier's most prominent families. Brothers William and Thomas Renick arrived in the Greenbrier Valley in 1769 with the wave of new settlers after the treaties of the late 1760s, but their personal experience closely mirrored that of members of the Yocum, Sea, and Clendenin families who first settled in the backcountry in the 1750s and continued to live in the region despite seeing their families devastated by Indian attacks.<sup>167</sup> William and Thomas

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<sup>166</sup> Examining the names of settlers identified in the 1755 and 1763 attacks seems to reveal a strong German contingent in the Muddy Creek area. Though the Sea family was identified as German by the Moravian Brethren and the Yocums also lived nearby in a region just west of the Lower Shenandoah Valley's German settlements at Opequon, the origins of other Germanic-named families like the Baughmans and Fishpoughs (identified elsewhere as Fishbach), is unknown.

<sup>167</sup> George Clendenin, the son of Charles Clendenin who is believed to be Archibald Clendenin's brother, lived on Spring Creek. George moved to the Kanawha Valley, which was part of early Greenbrier County, in the 1780s and purchased land that eventually became the town of Charleston, which he named after his

Renick's parents, who were often identified as "Renix," settled on 400 acres of land on the forks of the James River in Augusta County near Purgatory Mountain at present-day Buchanan, Virginia, by the 1740s.<sup>168</sup> In the summer of 1757, two years after the attack that killed Felty Yocum and Frederick Sea, their father died in an Indian attack while William and Thomas, their mother, and a number of their siblings were taken captive.<sup>169</sup>

Once taken into captivity, there were several accounts – some contradictory – about Elizabeth Renick and her children during their years as Shawnee captives. These differing accounts concern the names and number of Renick children taken captive; however, the accounts corroborate that one child died in captivity, several returned to white society and went on to live, marry, and raise children in the backcountry, and that one child never returned and ultimately lived among the Indians.<sup>170</sup> Family tradition describes the youngest two children named Robert. The first was an eighteen month-old

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father. George's brothers Robert, William, and Alexander followed him to the Kanawha Valley and William was one of the town's first trustees, justices, and sheriffs, and a representative in Virginia's General Assembly. See Gerald S. Ratliff, "Clendenin Family," e-WV: West Virginia Encyclopedia 20 (June 2012), <http://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/1303> (accessed 23 February 2016).

<sup>168</sup> E. I. Renick cites Book 19, p. 685 of the Virginia Land Office Records in Richmond, VA; E. I. Renick "The Renick Family of Virginia," in *Publications of the Southern History Association*, vol. III (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1899), 222; There is a "William Renick" listed among the Greenbrier Company surveys in 1751; however, the William discussed here would have been too young, and William and Thomas' father was identified as Robert Renick. The William Renick identified in the surveys is likely a relative, but the relationship is unknown. See Handley, "Beginnings of the Occupation of the Greenbrier Area," 6-7.

<sup>169</sup> William Preston's Register identifies seven Renick children taken captive while family tradition states that there were five children taken and Mrs. Renick, who was pregnant when taken captive, gave birth after arriving in the Indian towns. William Preston's Register, Draper MSS1QQ83, Microfilm, SHSW; Withers lists the names of the five Renick children as William, Thomas, Joshua, Betsy, and Robert, but lists the date incorrectly. "Betsy" may have been a reference to their mother Elizabeth, though there are not any "Betsy Renicks" included in Bouquet's list of prisoners. See Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 89-90./ Ian K. Steele lists seven Renick children (George, Joseph, Joshua, Margaret/Peggy, Nancy, Robert Jr., and William), in addition to their mother. See Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 523-524.

<sup>170</sup> According to Withers, Joshua fully embraced Indian culture, married an Indian woman, and became a leader among the Miamis near Detroit. See Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 91.

child captured with his mother Elizabeth who was pregnant at the time.<sup>171</sup> Family accounts claim this child was killed by the Indians when he cried after being taken captive. When Elizabeth gave birth shortly after arriving at the Shawnee Towns, she named her new infant son Robert after the young child and husband she lost.<sup>172</sup> Though he lived with the Shawnees until he was approximately seven years old, Robert may have stayed close to his mother because of his young age and maintained a stronger connection to white society as a result.<sup>173</sup> Information about the Renick children in captivity and the details of their release are unclear, but “Nansey Ranock, her Sister & four Brothers” were identified on a 1765 list of prisoners at the Lower Shawnee Towns that did not include information about when or where they were returned.<sup>174</sup>

According to family tradition, the older brothers, William, Thomas and Joshua Renick were believed to be about eleven, nine, and five years old, at the time of their captivity. Historian Ian Steele notes that children of those ages who lived with the Indians more than a couple years often struggled to return to white society.<sup>175</sup> Despite

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<sup>171</sup> B.F. Renick to Lyman C. Draper, 1 May 1879, Draper MSS 4CC120, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>172</sup> According to Ian K. Steele, Robert used the Indian name “Pechyloothame” when he was returned; however, the sources Steele cites do not reflect this statement; See Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 357. Reviewing Steele’s sources, the name “Joseph” rather than Robert is alongside Pechyloothame in Bouquet’s list of returned captives in all transcribed copies and the original document, so it appears that his statement is an error. See Croghan to Gage, May 12, 1765, Thomas Gage Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan; Draper MSS 21U126-130; Milton W. Hamilton, ed. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, vol. 11 (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1953), 720-721; Ewing, “Indian Captives Released by Colonel Bouquet,” 198-200.

<sup>173</sup> Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 357; Ewing, “Indian Captives Released by Colonel Bouquet,” 202.

<sup>174</sup> There was a “Peggy Reyneck” returned to Fort Pitt on November 15, 1764, and a “Geor. Rennox” returned to Fort Pitt on May 10, 1765. In addition “List H” includes an entry for “Nansey Ranock her Sister & four Brothers” who were prisoners at the Lower Shawnee Towns, which is certainly referring to the Robert Renick family; however, although this list identifying prisoners was sent to Henry Bouquet, it is unknown when, where, and even if, they were all released. See Ewing, “Indian Captives Released by Colonel Bouquet,” 202; Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 338.

<sup>175</sup> Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 355-359.

being within the age range that made reverse assimilation particularly challenging, the documentary record does not offer any insights into William or Thomas' readjustment to white society. As the oldest son, the events of the Indian attack could have had a greater impact on William and discouraged full acculturation into Native American society and in addition, it may be that Thomas and William were together in the Scioto villages, which encouraged them to maintain a connection to their past.<sup>176</sup> In contrast, Joshua Renick, who was sent to Piqua, never returned from captivity and rose to the status of Shawnee war chief.<sup>177</sup> Correspondence between historian Lyman C. Draper and Renick family descendants states that Joshua Renick visited his brother William years later in the Greenbrier Valley at Falling Spring, but could not be compelled to remain.<sup>178</sup>

Years later, Felix Renick, cousin of the captured Renick siblings, discussed some of the challenges families experienced when their children were returned from captivity, writing that the girls were typically happy to leave the Indian towns, but the boys often had "become so completely Indian, that they had to be forced away from their Indian playmates; and a close watch had to be kept over them," so they would not return.<sup>179</sup> He also noted that his mother-in-law, Barbara Sea, who like many backcountry women had firsthand family experience with Indian attacks and captivity, often said "that she never undertook such a task as it was to break in those wild Indian boys[...]it was utterly

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<sup>176</sup> "Appendix P – Captivity of the Renick Family, 1757," Draper MSS 21U127, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>177</sup> Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 221; Family tradition connects Joshua Renick to the Indian name "Logan;" however, there is no concrete evidence for Joshua's identity.

<sup>178</sup> B.F. Renick to Lyman C. Draper, 1 May 1879; E.J. Renick to Lyman C. Draper, 30 December 1890, Draper MSS 4CC124 and 4CC125, Microfilm, SHSW; "Appendix P – Captivity of the Renick Family, 1757," Draper MSS 21U126-130, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>179</sup> Felix Renick, "A Trip to the West," 78-79.

impossible, she said, to keep clothes on them” and they would often free themselves of the clothing items that were particularly restrictive and “be found swimming like wild ducks in the river, or wallowing naked in the sand beaches on the shores.”<sup>180</sup> Apart from the physical adjustments, the boys “in their melancholy moments” would “often be heard to exclaim, in all the apparent agonies of distress, ‘O! my Innies, my Innies!’ (meaning Indians).”<sup>181</sup> Felix’s account offers a reminder that returning from captivity did not necessarily mean children embraced white society or the pattern of backcountry life and that the boundary between Indian and European society could be a porous one.

Ian Steele considered whether or not men who lived among the Indians could gain prominence, or if their loyalties were forever questioned by their neighbors and peers, and noted that William Renick’s experience suggests that Greenbrier settlers did not marginalize him because of his years as an Indian captive.<sup>182</sup> William, the most successful of the three Renick brothers who settled in Greenbrier, was elected as a militia officer during the American Revolution – a position backcountry men were careful to ascribe to those they respected and trusted.<sup>183</sup> William, Thomas and Robert each married, but William did not have any of his own children, though he was a doting brother and uncle. Thomas referred to him as his “well beloved Brother William Renick,” and in his will, William divided his wealth and extensive landholdings between his nieces and

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<sup>180</sup> Felix’s wife was Hannah Sea, the daughter of Michael and Barbara Sea who was the brother of Frederick Sea and Felty Yocum’s wife Margaret; Felix Renick, “A Trip to the West,” 78-79.

<sup>181</sup> Felix Renick, “A Trip to the West,” 78-79.

<sup>182</sup> Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 368.

<sup>183</sup> Rice, *History of Greenbrier County*, 65;

nephews.<sup>184</sup> Felix Renick noted that William Renick, spoke of his experience of being “taken prisoner, when a youth,” thus revealing that others were aware of William’s background.<sup>185</sup>

John Stuart was another young man who joined the Renicks in the Spring Creek area in the late 1760s. Stuart, like the Renicks, came to prominence among the region’s elite primarily through his role in the militia, leadership in county affairs during the revolutionary era, and service as the county clerk in later years, which has given him recognition as “the Founder and Father of Greenbrier County.”<sup>186</sup> Stuart initially settled in Spring Creek where he is thought to have constructed the first gristmill west of the Alleghenies.<sup>187</sup> He married the widow of a fallen militia comrade, and they made their home farther south near Muddy Creek Mountain at Fort Spring for many years during the American Revolution, but he returned to his original lands on Spring Creek when their four children were grown and the house at Fort Spring was given to their oldest son.<sup>188</sup>

Living alongside the Renick brothers and John Stuart who had grown up in the Virginia backcountry, Esau Ludington moved to the Spring Creek area of the Greenbrier Valley from Dutchess County, New York, in the early 1770s.<sup>189</sup> Esau was the son of

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<sup>184</sup> E. I. Renick “The Renick Family of Virginia,” 225; Spring Creek was known as the Falling Spring district through much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was named “Renick” in 1913; Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers*, 212; <http://www.wvculture.org/history/agrext/renick.html>; Thomas Renick Will, 18 May 1779, Greenbrier County Will Book 1:44-45, County Clerk’s Office, Lewisburg, WV; William Renick Will, 1 July 1814, Greenbrier County Will Book 1:443-444, County Clerk’s Office, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>185</sup> Felix Renick, “Second Trip to the West—Logan” in *American Pioneer*, vol. 1, no. 9 (September 1842): 329-332.

<sup>186</sup> Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers*, 134.

<sup>187</sup> Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers*, 136.

<sup>188</sup> Stuart returned to his property at Frankford in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and turned his house at Fort Spring over to his son Lewis Stuart. See Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers*, 151.

<sup>189</sup> The 1850 US Census lists Esau’s son Francis’ birth in New York in 1766, supporting the idea that Esau migrated to Virginia in the late 1760s or early 1770s. Frances Ludington, 1850 U. S. Census, District 18,

Elisha and Abigail Ludington, and he served in the New York militia during the French and Indian War.<sup>190</sup> Though the reason for Esau's decision to leave his family in New York and move to the Greenbrier Valley is unknown, within a decade he had acquired 400 acres on the Greenbrier River and a tract of land identified as "Ludington's mill," near the mouth of Anthony's Creek.<sup>191</sup> Despite Esau's success, it was his children, who grew up in the area, who gave the Ludington name distinction in the region. Esau's two sons Andrew and Francis, known as "Frank," lived in the Spring Creek area. In 1801 Frank laid out the first town and named it Frankford.<sup>192</sup> Frank Ludington went into business manufacturing salt with William Renick, and like Renick, Ludington did not have children of his own, so his landholdings were passed to his nieces and nephews.<sup>193</sup>

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Greenbrier, Virginia, roll: M432-947; page: 325B; Image: 337, [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com); Esau is first recorded in Greenbrier making purchases at John Stuart's store in 1773, but there is no record of any land holdings for several years. Mathews Trading Post Ledger, 1771-1784, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1781, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1773, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>190</sup> Willis Fletcher Johnson, *Colonel Henry Ludington: A Memoir* (New York: Lavinia Elizabeth Ludington and Charles Henry Ludington, 1907), 26; New York Historical Society, *Muster Rolls of New York Provincial Troops. 1755-1764* (New York City: New York Historical Society, 1891), 264, 266. Asa, identified as a farmer from Dutchess County, enlisted in Captain Bogardus' company on 16 April 1760, at the age of 17, alongside his 19 year-old brother, Comfort; While the Ludingtons in Greenbrier initially had few connections, Esau's family in New York was known for their military leadership and service throughout the American Revolution. Esau's first cousin, Colonel Henry Ludington, had a notable career in the New York militia while Henry's sixteen year old daughter Sibyl is well-remembered in Dutchess County, New York, for her forty mile ride through the night to muster the militia after the British burned Danbury, Connecticut, in 1777. See Johnson, *Henry Ludington*, 89-90.

<sup>191</sup> George Clendenin and William Clendenin, Greenbrier County Survey Book 1:431, County Clerk's Office, Lewisburg, WV; Esau Luddington, Greenbrier County Survey Book 1:24, County Clerk's Office; Larry Shuck, *Greenbrier County Virginia Early Court Records, 1780-1835* (Athens: Iberian Publishing Company, 1988), 4.

<sup>192</sup> Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers*, 357-358.

<sup>193</sup> Francis Ludington Will, dated 13 October 1846, Greenbrier County Will Book 2:589-592, County Clerk's Office, Lewisburg, WV; Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers*, 357; William Renick Will, 1 July 1814, Greenbrier County Will Book 1:443-444, County Clerk's Office, Lewisburg, WV.



Although the first generations of Renicks and Ludingtons in the Greenbrier Valley did not have large families, others who settled nearby quickly multiplied the population. Christopher and Margaret Walkup reared ten children on Spring Creek. Like the Seas and Yocums, the Walkup name is challenging to track in the historical record as there are many spelling variations, which sometimes appear within the same document.<sup>194</sup> Several of the Walkup children intermarried with the Beard family who lived farther south in the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>195</sup> Like John Stuart, John Beard first came to the Greenbrier as a bachelor, but returned to eastern Augusta County to marry Jennett Wallace before bringing her back to Spring Creek where they reared eleven children.<sup>196</sup> Jennett's family was well-established in the Shenandoah Valley, and many of her brothers fought in the American Revolution with at least three of them dying during the war.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Christopher Vachub/Valkub/Walkup Will, dated 11 August 1818, Greenbrier County Will Book 1:530-531, County Clerk's Office, Lewisburg, WV; Variations of "Walkup" include: Vachob, Vauchal, Vaugale, Vaughab, Vaughal, Vaghals, Wacub, Wacup, Wahub, Walkub, Warhol, Waucub, Wauhob, and Walkup. The spelling seems to unify in the early 1800s and family tradition states that the family decided on a single spelling of the name; Helen S. Stinson, ed., *Greenbrier County Virginia Land Entry Book, 1780-1786* (Athens: Iberian Publishing Company, 1994); Larry Shuck, ed., *Greenbrier County Virginia Early Court Records, 1780-1835* (Athens: Iberian Publishing Company, 1988).

<sup>195</sup> Christopher and Margaret's children Margaret, Christopher, and John married Beards. Rebecca, the eldest daughter of their brother Joseph, married Margaret's grandson Robert while her youngest sister Louisa Alice, married Robert's grandson (the reality of having large families with siblings born a generation apart).

<sup>196</sup> Jennett was the daughter of Peter Wallace Jr. and Martha Woods of Augusta and their marriage was just one of several Wallace-Woods marriages between first cousins in their generation. Jennett had a number of siblings, including three brothers killed during the American Revolution out of four who served; George Selden Wallace, *Wallace: Genealogical Data Pertaining to the Descendants of Peter Wallace & Elizabeth Woods, His Wife* (Charlottesville: Michie Company, 1938), 158; John Beard, Greenbrier County Surveyor Book 1:8, 313, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Adam Wallace, Pension Record BLWt542-300, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, Southern Campaign Revolutionary War Pension Statements, [www.revwarapps.org](http://www.revwarapps.org) (24 September 2015). Hereafter, collection cited as SCRWPS; Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers*, 159.

<sup>197</sup> Captain Adam Wallace served in the 7<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment and was killed at the Battle of Waxhaw, SC, on May 29, 1780. Captain Andrew Wallace and Lieutenant James Wallace were in the 12<sup>th</sup> Virginia

The Arbuckle family settled along the James River in the mid-1750s before son Mathew Arbuckle moved to Spring Creek around 1775. Mathew became Greenbrier's principal military leader during the American Revolution and spent many years as the commander of Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant on the Ohio River.<sup>198</sup> Local tradition says that Mathew was an early explorer along the Ohio River, and he may have arrived in the Greenbrier Valley with the Renick brothers, John Stuart, and other young men who were among the first wave of settlers after the formation of Botetourt County and came to Greenbrier from their family homes in the Shenandoah Valley.<sup>199</sup>

While many Greenbrier Valley families, like the Seas and Yocums at Muddy Creek, and the Renicks, Stuarts, Ludingtons, Beards, Walkups, and Arbuckles at Spring Creek, were acquaintances in the Shenandoah Valley, or were related as children grew up and intermarried, others like Esau Ludington and Christopher Walkup arrived in the Greenbrier Valley without friend or family connections. In addition to the role of shared experiences as a bonding mechanism, kinship was an important element throughout the Virginia backcountry and quickly became essential to developing Greenbrier communities. The challenges and conditions related to life in the Virginia backcountry,

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Regiment, and Andrew was killed at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in March 1781, while James died of smallpox at a hospital in Philadelphia. See Adam Wallace, Pension Record BLWt542-300, SCRWPS.

<sup>198</sup> Arbuckle was a captain in the 1774 expedition known as Dunmore's War and was commander of the militia Fort Randolph, which was constructed at Point Pleasant at the confluence of the Kanawha River and Ohio River in 1776. His company was later integrated into the western regiment of the Continental Army. See Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds. *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 103-104.

<sup>199</sup> Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers*, 162; Mathew Arbuckle is also considered integral to the growth of the town of Lewisburg after its founding in 1782 as he was the first to build a house in the town; See Ruth Woods Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers*, 163; Mathew Arbuckle's son Matthew Arbuckle was a career soldier who fought alongside Andrew Jackson in the War of 1812 and was stationed in Indian territory and at forts throughout the west throughout his career. See "Arbuckle, Matthew (1778-1851)" *Oklahoma Historical Society*, <http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=AR003> (accessed February 10, 2017).

and Greenbrier specifically as it was still among the most isolated of Virginia's settlements beyond the Shenandoah Valley, spurred relationships as settlers relied on one another for community and defense. Kinship further strengthened these relationships as a foundational element in backcountry society, which created close-knit communities who worked together to survive and thrive.

When the Renicks, Stuarts, Arbuckles, and others, settled on Spring Creek during the flood of new settlers coming into the region in 1769, there was an estimated population of several hundred settlers in the Greenbrier Valley, and settlement grew by the hundreds in the following years.<sup>200</sup> Though still in their early twenties, these men had already lived a lifetime of experiences – growing up in the backcountry, fighting in the French and Indian War, witnessing the deaths of family members during Indian attacks, and living as Indian captives. After all the challenges that inhibited settlement in the Greenbrier Valley, it would be easy to believe the early 1770s were the end of turmoil and the beginning of stability; however, that was not the reality. Instead, the American colonies were preparing to embark on their greatest challenge yet and periods of violence, warfare, and political maneuvering would fill the next decade and continue to challenge and ultimately strengthen Greenbrier's community, beginning with the creation of Botetourt County from part of Augusta County in 1769.

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<sup>200</sup> Using a formula of the number of tithables times three results in an estimated population of 450 settlers in Greenbrier in 1772, more than 550 in 1773, and an explosion in settlement in the two years that followed with roughly 950 settlers in 1774, and over 1,600 in 1775; Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County Reel 149, LGRC, LVA.

## **Botetourt: Forming a New County**

Even as there were large-scale changes in geographic territories and land claims as a result of Britain's treaties with Native peoples at the end of the 1760s, and settlers moved into the Greenbrier Valley steadily in the early 1770s, there were also smaller-scale local changes taking place in the structure of backcountry counties and communities. The Greenbrier Valley was part of Augusta County when the first settlers arrived in the 1750s; however, county formation was a method of extending "His Majesties Dominions," so in 1769, the Virginia General Assembly passed an act "for dividing the county and parish of Augusta" and creating a new county (see Figure 13).<sup>201</sup> The Assembly addressed the sheer size of Augusta County and the challenges of governing such a large region, stating that "many inconveniencies attend the inhabitants of the county and parish of Augusta, by reason of the great extent thereof."<sup>202</sup> On November 23, 1769, the *Virginia Gazette* published the news that "The petition for dividing the county of Augusta is agreed to by the House of Burgesses and we hear the new county is to be named BOTETOURT," after Virginia's beloved royal governor Norborne Berkeley (see Figure 14).<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Hofstra, "Extention of His Majesties Dominions," 1286; "An Act for dividing the county and parish of Augusta, and for adding certain islands, in the Fluvanna river, to the counties of Albemarle and Amherst," November 1769, William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, vol. VIII (Richmond: J. & G. Cochran, 1821), 398; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta, County*, 215.

<sup>202</sup> "An Act for dividing the county and parish of Augusta," November 1769, Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. VIII, 398.

<sup>203</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 23 November 1769, 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 23 November 1769, 2; Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, *Early Adventurers on the Western Waters*, vol. 1 (Orange, VA: Green Publishers, Inc., 1980), 91.

The act establishing Botetourt County considered the physical county boundaries and implemented the procedures and location for court day. A line was drawn from the South Mountain in the Shenandoah Valley to the west to divide Augusta into two counties and parishes. The line was marked by trees bearing “AC” or “BC” on the appropriate sides of the line as it crossed the Cowpasture River, “the Road between the warm spring & the Hotspring,” the line crossed Jackson’s River, and Back Creek to “the west side of Anthonys Creek Mountain which divides the Eastern & Western Waters” and reached down into the Greenbrier Valley before extending farther to the west.<sup>204</sup> The Botetourt County court would meet on the second Tuesday of each month on the east side of the Allegheny Mountains in what became the town of Fincastle, Virginia.<sup>205</sup> In the months leading up to Botetourt County’s official formation, the Council of Virginia made preparations for the new county government, including creating a Commission of the Peace for Botetourt County that was made up “of all the Gentlemen residing therein who were Justices on the last Commission for Augusta” and appointing Andrew Lewis as the head of the militia as the Botetourt County Lieutenant.<sup>206</sup>

Planning ahead and anticipating future new counties, the act creating Botetourt County noted the geography and the impact it would have on development. Since the county stretched from the Shenandoah Valley to the “waters of the Mississippi,” the

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<sup>204</sup> “An Act for dividing the county and parish of Augusta,” November 1769, Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. VIII, 395-396; “Division Line between Augusta County and Botetourt County,” 13 June 1770, Botetourt County Land Records.

<sup>205</sup> 2 March 1770, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, vol. VI (June 20, 1754-May 3, 1775), ed. Benjamin J. Hillman (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1966), 341.

<sup>206</sup> 15 December 1769, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, vol. VI (June 20, 1754-May 3, 1775), ed. Benjamin J. Hillman (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1966), 339.

Assembly recognized that many settlers would find travel to the courthouse challenging or even impossible, and for that reason the act stated,

Whereas the people situated on the waters of the Mississippi, in the said county of Botetourt, will be very remote from their court-house, and must necessarily become a separate county, as soon as their numbers are sufficient, which will probably happen in a short time: *Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid,* That the inhabitants of that part of the said county of Botetourt, which lies on the said waters, shall be exempted from the payment of any levies, to be laid by the said county court for the purpose of building a court-house and prison, for the said county.<sup>207</sup>

The records do not clearly state where “the waters of the Mississippi” began, and there were no known Virginia settlers beyond the Kanawha River at this time. A few years later these settlers on the “western waters” would submit a petition asking to pay the very levies from which they were exempted because freeholders could not vote or participate in county business unless they paid taxes.<sup>208</sup>

Botetourt County itself was divided into two counties just a couple years later; however, the division was not along the north-south axis that the act anticipated, but again from the east to west along the path of the New River and Kanawha rivers.<sup>209</sup> The southern section, named Fincastle County, only existed for four years, from 1772 to 1776

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<sup>207</sup> “An Act for dividing the county and parish of Augusta,” November 1769, Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. VIII, 398.

<sup>208</sup> For the petition asking to pay taxes, see 21 May 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VII, pt 1, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 206-207; 12 June 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VII, pt 2, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 447.

<sup>209</sup> “An Act for dividing the county of Botetourt into two distinct counties,” February 1772, William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, vol. VIII (Richmond: J. & G. Cochran, 1821), 600; “Dividing Line between Botetourt County and Fincastle County,” 3 May 1773, Botetourt County (Va.) Land Records, Deed Book 1, 1770-1773, Botetourt County Reel 1, LGRC, LVA.

(see Figure 15). Once it was disbanded, Fincastle County was incorporated into several counties, including a large portion that became Kentucky, but the initial dividing line between Botetourt and Fincastle remained and formed the southern boundary for the area that eventually became Greenbrier County in 1778.<sup>210</sup>

On February 13, 1770, the first court session in Botetourt County met at the home of Robert Breckenridge and implemented the various components required by the act establishing the county. The minutes of the first court identify approximately thirty Gentlemen Justices charged to “keep or cause to be kept all ordinances & statutes of the aforesaid made for the Good of the Peace and for the conservation of the same & for the quiet Rule & Government of his People,” and none of the men were known to be from the Greenbrier Valley, although a few, such as Benjamin Estill, George Skillern, John Bowman, and William McKee, seemed to have some connection west of the mountains.<sup>211</sup> The Justices took the “usual Oaths to his Majesty’s Person and Government” then presented their commissions from the governor for the positions of Sheriff and Commissioners of the Peace.<sup>212</sup> Among the men were also Andrew Lewis,

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<sup>210</sup> The dividing line between Botetourt and Fincastle ran west from the Great Valley Road roughly along U.S. 460 through present-day Christiansburg and Blacksburg, Virginia, and into present-day West Virginia along the New River and Kanawha River, before reaching the Ohio River, which the line followed to the south and west.

<sup>211</sup> The Gentlemen Justices who took their seats on February 13, 1770, were Andrew Lewis, Richard Woods, Robert Breckenridge, William Preston, John Bowyer, Israel Christian, John Maxwell, James Trimble, Benjamin Hawkins, David Robinson, William Fleming, George Skillern, and Benjamin Estill. Additional Justices were appointed on February 14, 1770, including William Ingles, John Howard, Philip Love, James Robertson, William Christian, William Herbert, John Montgomery, Stephen Trigg, Robert Dooge, Walter Crockett, James McGavock, Francis Smith, Andrew Woods, William Matthews, John Bowman, William McKee, and Anthony Bledsoe; 13 February 1770, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 58, 66; Botetourt County (Va.) Order Books, 1770-1780, Botetourt County Reel 149, LGRC, LVA.

<sup>212</sup> 13 February 1770, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 59-60.

who lived near present-day Roanoke, and William Preston, who lived near the town of Fincastle at the time, but moved west to present-day Blacksburg, Virginia, a few years later.

As prominent citizens, many of the men, like William Preston, received multiple appointments. Preston was appointed colonel of the militia, and presented a commission from the College of William & Mary appointing him surveyor of the county, and a commission from the governor appointing him Escheator. William Preston and Andrew Lewis were also appointed county coroners. William Preston was also ordered the task of procuring “weights & measures according to law for the use of the County at the County’s expense.”<sup>213</sup> The court continued the following day as the Justices appointed Constables and Surveyors of the Roads; however, the county precincts did not reach the Greenbrier Valley although there are references to individuals like Andrew Hamilton and William Renick who moved to the Greenbrier Valley within a few years.<sup>214</sup>

The first few sessions of the Botetourt County court also addressed the physical land and buildings needed to establish a new seat of county government. The court received an offer of land from Israel Christian to establish a courthouse and by April 1770, the court ordered a survey of two and half acres of land for the courthouse and ten acres of land for “prison bounds.”<sup>215</sup> The court minutes included plans for the

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<sup>213</sup> 14 February 1770, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 65.

<sup>214</sup> 14 February 1770, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 64-65.

<sup>215</sup> 14 February 1770, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 65; 11 April 1770, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 77.



construction of the courthouse, described as “a log cabbin twenty four feet long and twenty wide[...]with a clapbord roof with two small sheads, one at each end for jury rooms.”<sup>216</sup> The court also gave instructions to “build a log cabin twenty feet long and sixteen feet wide, with an addition at the end of it the same width and twenty feet long” for use as a prison and the jailer’s house.<sup>217</sup> These structures formed the hub of Botetourt County government for most of the next decade and the town of Fincastle, nearly seventy miles from the Greenbrier Valley, was the closest urban area for Greenbrier settlers until the early 1780s (see Figure 16).

By late summer 1770, the court finally turned to legal matters in addition to the continued business of establishing a new county. A grand jury was summoned at the May session and the court addressed several cases of bastard children, unlawful cohabitation, and the unlawful beating of a servant.<sup>218</sup> The court also issued its first orders for the collection of tithables throughout the county, including instructions to William Christian to “take the list of tithables on James River and the pastures from the mouth of Craig’s Creek upwards including Green Brier settlement.”<sup>219</sup> In June, the court began to lay out a town around the courthouse and county buildings at Miller’s Mill, and issued orders to several justices to “sell such lotts as now are or shall be laid off in the Town of Fincastle out of the County land on such terms as they shall judge most of the

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<sup>216</sup> 11 April 1770, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 77.

<sup>217</sup> 11 April 1770, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 77.

<sup>218</sup> 8 May 1770, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 77-78.

<sup>219</sup> 10 May 1770, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 82.

advantage of the County and for the improvement of the Town.”<sup>220</sup> The town, officially founded in 1772, was named after Lord Fincastle, the son of Virginia’s new royal governor, John Murray, Lord Dunmore.<sup>221</sup>

At a court held in Botetourt on June 11, 1771, as the treaties of the late 1760s at Fort Stanwix, Hard Labor, and Lochaber legally opened the Greenbrier Valley to settlement again, the Greenbrier region becomes visible in the county records. The court recommended a number of men to act as Magistrates including men who were already in Greenbrier and others who would move there within a few years. These men included “James Thompson on Holston, John [Stuart] on Greenbrier, John Robinson on Dunlop’s Creek near the County line, John [Vanbibber] near Muddy Creek, and Matthew Arbuckle on James River near the mouth of the Cowpastures.”<sup>222</sup> Rather than assign regions to the justices to collect tithables, the court ordered that tithables be taken among the militia companies, which emphasized the prevalence of militia activity in the region since it was considered a reliable way to collect levies.<sup>223</sup>

The Greenbrier Valley comes more clearly into focus in 1772 with lists of tithables collected from individuals in the region. In November, John Vanbibber made the collections “on green brier and on the waters” and compiled a list to submit to the court. Vanbibber listed thirty-seven households and collected at least forty-four tithables

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<sup>220</sup> 12 June 1770, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 83.

<sup>221</sup> 12 June 1770, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 83.

<sup>222</sup> 11 June, 1771, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 126; Matthew Arbuckle moved farther west to Spring Creek a few years later.

<sup>223</sup> 11 June, 1771, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 127.

from white males over the age of sixteen. By applying a commonly used formula estimating three people per tithable, it is likely that the forty-four tithables represent roughly 130 settlers on Greenbrier.<sup>224</sup> In addition to the list of names, Vanbibber also included a note to the court that offers insights into the challenges of making collections as he explained that he had “Advertised to the inhabitation of greenbrier to give me in their lists of tithables” twice, but still estimated “about three hundred and upwards living on these waters” beyond what he collected.<sup>225</sup> When combined with the population estimate based on the number of tithables, it is likely that there was a population of nearly 450 settlers in Greenbrier in 1772.<sup>226</sup>

In an undated list of tithables from the “Waters of Greenbrier” that is likely from 1773, John Vanbibber had better success reaching the inhabitants and making collections. Organized alphabetically by first name with separate sections for each letter of the alphabet, there are 188 tithables from 166 households with an estimated population of more than 550, which was an increase of approximately 100 individuals beyond the previous year.<sup>227</sup> By 1774, tithables had increased to over three hundred, representing a population of over 950 settlers.<sup>228</sup> The tithables lists from 1772 through 1774 reveal consistent and substantial population growth in Greenbrier as new settlers formed

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<sup>224</sup> Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County Reel 149, LGRC, LVA.

<sup>225</sup> Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County (Va.) Reel 149.

<sup>226</sup> Vanbibber included a post script that “at this time I am not able to come to court” and sent his lists by Captain John Robinson; Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County (Va.) Reel 149.

<sup>227</sup> The formula most often utilized for estimating population is three times the number of tithables. Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County (Va.) Reel 149.

<sup>228</sup> Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County (Va.) Reel 149.

communities and sought lands west of the Allegheny Mountains in spite of violence, the status of Virginian-Indian relations, or other colonial concerns.

In the summer of 1773, and possibly as a result of Vanbibber's journey throughout the Greenbrier Valley, a number of surveyors were appointed and issued instructions to complete surveys for transportation routes throughout Botetourt County and along various branches of the Greenbrier River (see Figure 11).<sup>229</sup> The court ordered James Johnston, Patrick Davis and Hugh Miller to "view the nighest & best way from Patrick Davis's to Andrew Donnally's in the Little Levels" and from James Thompson's home on Anthony Creek to James Maze's on Greenbrier and report to the court.<sup>230</sup> They also appointed James Thompson as constable "from the Droop Mountain to Madison's Hills on Greenbrier Levels" and Robert Sconce as constable "from the sd. Hills to John Rogers's, and from John Rogers from his house to Muddy Creek Mountain."<sup>231</sup> The wording of these orders reveals that established roads or routes were nonexistent throughout the Valley as the men were told to "view the nighest & best way." The surveys resulted in the creation of bridle ways, which were the width of a horse, rather than roads that did not develop in the region for a decade.

The formation of Botetourt County more fully brought the Greenbrier Valley's settlers into Virginia's governance with access to a courthouse situated nearly seventy miles away in Fincastle, instead of the more than 100 miles between the main settlements

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<sup>229</sup> 13 July 1773, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 192-193.

<sup>230</sup> 13 July 1773, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 192-193.

<sup>231</sup> 13 July 1773, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 193.

in the Greenbrier Valley and the town of Staunton, Virginia (see Figure 16). Though the county court was much easier to reach than it had been previously, it was still several days journey from settlements in Greenbrier, which was something the average settler would have found difficult and likely unnecessary to carry out their daily life. Within the decade, the statements in the act creating Botetourt County in 1769 were a reality as the westernmost areas of Botetourt were “very remote from their court-house, and must necessarily become a separate county.”<sup>232</sup> Before Greenbrier settlers could form a new county, they would face another Indian expedition and engage in the first years of the American Revolution, which threatened their backcountry settlements.

## Conclusion

In the early 1700s, Virginia’s leaders sought to establish a buffer of “Protestant Strangers” along the colony’s western border to protect eastern settlements.<sup>233</sup> Within a few decades, that desire became the full-fledged settlement of the Shenandoah Valley by a large percentage of German and Scots-Irish settlers who were often recent arrivals in the American colonies. Even as the royal governors hoped the frontier barrier would protect Virginia from the French, who controlled western territories, and their Indian allies, the backcountry settlements created new challenges for imperial officials as settlers constantly inched their way further west.

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<sup>232</sup> “An Act for dividing the county and parish of Augusta,” November 1769, Hening, ed. *Statutes at Large*, vol. VIII, 398.

<sup>233</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 59.

When the population increase caused overcrowding in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia settlers were determined to continue the “Extention of His Majesties Dominions” whether or not the Crown authorized it, and their movement into lands claimed by Native Americans, particularly the Shawnees, resulted in a series of treaties in the late 1760s.<sup>234</sup> These treaties revealed just how challenging it could be for London to negotiate boundaries in its American territories, which were claimed by multiple Native American groups, only to have those newly established borders often undone or moved by the representatives of individual colonies. By 1770, after the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Hard Labor, and Lochaber, Virginia firmly stretched from the Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio River and the border of present-day Kentucky and West Virginia just west of Huntington, West Virginia.<sup>235</sup>

Throughout the 1750s and 1760s, settlers moved in and out of the Greenbrier Valley with the ebb and flow of backcountry violence, but because of devastating Indian attacks and the Royal Proclamation in 1763, settlement eventually stalled, albeit briefly. In 1769, Greenbrier’s wave of permanent settlement began and developed within the boundaries of the newly formed Botetourt County and the opportunity to own land encouraged settlers, especially the children of early Shenandoah Valley residents, to move westward. While the Greenbrier Valley was initially “beyond the pale of government,” government moved closer over time with the establishment of a courthouse in Fincastle, Virginia, roughly sixty-five miles away from their settlements.<sup>236</sup> The

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<sup>234</sup> Griffin, *American Leviathan*, 58-29; Hofstra, “Extention of His Majesties Dominions,” 1285.

<sup>235</sup> Spence, “John Donelson and the Opening of the Old Southwest,” 160.

<sup>236</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 55.

distance from the Greenbrier Valley to the Botetourt County courthouse in Fincastle was still too distant for many settlers to engage in legal issues, and the records reveal that Botetourt's Gentlemen Justices and the cases they decided were primarily from the smaller portion of the county located to the east of the mountains.

Despite setbacks, hardships, and loss of life, settlers arriving in the Greenbrier Valley committed themselves to securing lands and establishing homes. As J. F. D. Smyth noted, the Greenbrier River was "a very considerable stream of water, extremely pleasant, with abundance of most excellent land upon its banks," and the individuals who called those lands home were determined to maintain their claims.<sup>237</sup> While Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell, the first European settlers in the Greenbrier Valley, established themselves without the benefit of family or community, others like Frederick Sea and Felty Yocum, the Renick brothers, the Walkups and Beards, and many others who migrated to Greenbrier between the 1750s and early 1770s relied on networks of kinship and community for survival. While the Shenandoah Valley was an ethnic patchwork of communities of predominantly German and Scots-Irish ancestry, the Greenbrier Valley, which was more often the home of second or third generation settlers moving from the Shenandoah Valley or other regions of the colonies rather than recent immigrants, had less commitment to ethnic identity and instead developed a Greenbrier identity through the shared experiences of settlement, commerce, and warfare. After the many trials settlers faced during the first two decades of settlement, it would be easy to think the relative peace of the early 1770s was the end of Greenbrier's story; however, the

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<sup>237</sup> Smyth, *A Tour of the United States of America*, vol. 2, 157-158.

American colonies had yet to face their greatest challenge as political developments and warfare over the next decade continued to both threaten and strengthen Greenbrier's communities.



### CHAPTER III

#### “TO SUNDRYS” AND SOCIAL EXCHANGE<sup>1</sup>

The early 1770s brought changes to the Greenbrier Valley after the treaties of the 1760s moved the region firmly into Virginia’s colonial territory, and Botetourt County’s formation placed local government in closer proximity to the area. In the past there has been an emphasis on self-sufficient frontier settlers blazing their way through the wilderness without access to stores or goods beyond what they made themselves; however, this was not the case.<sup>2</sup> Instead, as a new wave of settlement pushed west from the Shenandoah Valley and into the Greenbrier Valley, brothers Sampson and George Mathews seized the opportunity to expand their mercantile ventures beyond Staunton, and formed a business partnership with John Stuart, who had recently moved to Greenbrier from the Valley of Virginia to establish a store in the region. Although Greenbrier was home to other merchants and tradesmen in the 1770s, the surviving records from the Mathews-Stuart store are the only known extant store records covering a significant period of the revolutionary era. These records provide a unique opportunity to examine commercial activity and social exchange during the formative

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<sup>1</sup> “To Sundrys” is a common entry in the Greenbrier store records for miscellaneous items, see Mathews Trading Post Ledger, 1771-1784, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Perkins and Johanna Miller Lewis dispel this popular misconception in their respective works on Kentucky and North Carolina. See Elizabeth Perkins, “The Consumer Frontier: Household Consumption in Early Kentucky,” *Journal of American History* 78, no. 2 (Sep. 1991), 486; Johanna Miller Lewis *Artisans in the North Carolina Backcountry* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 1-2.

period of settlement as the Greenbrier Valley's inhabitants coalesced into a community with a shared Greenbrier identity.

At the most foundational, level the Greenbrier store records provide an account of consumption patterns and the movement of goods into, through, and out of the Greenbrier Valley; however, the records also speak to the creation of community through a shared culture and identity that developed out of consumer goods and experiences. The marginalia of the Greenbrier store records illuminates kinship ties and customer relationships, the locations of customers' homes throughout the Greenbrier Valley, and even the professions of some customers. In this way, the records serve as a "bricolage," which historian Bernard Herman described as the process of bringing together bits and pieces of culture to create "compelling, meaningful narratives out of seemingly unrelated objects and events."<sup>3</sup> Beyond the text on the page, the objects at the stores are also powerful tools to understand the development of Greenbrier's community as Margareta Lovell notes, "objects are, to those who make and 'read' or use them, give them to others, or pass them to progeny, important matters, legible documents as full of metaphor and rhetoric, pun and complication, as primary sources of the literary sort."<sup>4</sup>

The store records offer insights into the Greenbrier community and its development that are unavailable elsewhere, in part because of Greenbrier's distance from the Botetourt County courthouse, which was located in the town of Fincastle nearly

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<sup>3</sup> Bernard L. Herman, "The *Bricoleur* Revisited," in *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, eds. Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison (Winterthur: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 39.

<sup>4</sup> Margareta Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 269.

seventy miles to the southeast across an imposing mountain range that discouraged and prevented settlers from making trips to town or to court unless absolutely necessary. Even if Greenbrier settlers had easier access to the activities of the county court, county records leave out a large portion of society whose gender, race, economic status, or ordinary, law-abiding status results in their absence from official records. In a county as expansive as Botetourt, which began in the Shenandoah Valley and stretched across all of present-day West Virginia, many settlers' names never appeared in the county records.

The records from Sampson and George Mathews' and John Stuart's Greenbrier store consist of a ledger and two daybooks. While these records may be missing additional daybooks documenting daily exchanges at the store, the ledgers include entries that are not found in the two surviving daybooks, and span the period from 1771 to 1784. They provide a window into Greenbrier Valley exchange during its early years of settlement including both commercial and social insights and the store's contribution to the creation of community.<sup>5</sup> The period of roughly thirteen years is likely the full extent of the store's existence given the events of the Mathews and Stuart's personal lives and their duties in Greenbrier and elsewhere. The ledger consists of 258 pages with the debits on the left-hand page and the credits on the right with three or four individual accounts listed on each set of pages (see Figures 17-23). The ledger is organized by account name and the accounts are carried over from page to page. The two daybooks consist of

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<sup>5</sup> The years from 1771 to mid-1775 were the peak period of business at the Greenbrier store. While the American Revolution certainly impacted the store's decline, Daniel Thorp notes that frontier businesses followed similar patterns of growth followed by the greatest geographic impact, then shrinking as new businesses opened and customers no longer needed to travel as far to reach the store. See Daniel Thorp, "Business in the Backcountry," *William and Mary Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (July 1991), 396.

approximately ninety pages and twenty-five pages respectively, and they are organized by date (see Figures 24-25). The daybooks span narrower periods of time with one book covering 1771 to 1773, and the other providing sporadic entries from 1771 to 1781. Since the daybook entries are by date they offer a unique perspective on the Greenbrier Valley by providing snapshots of the calendar of daily life and the cycle of the seasons.

Though there were likely other merchants and tradesmen in the region, there is only one other extant store record from a merchant buying or selling goods in Greenbrier in the revolutionary era.<sup>6</sup> Matthew Read and Hugh Johnston were business partners and merchants in Staunton, Virginia, from 1761 to 1770, and many historians of the Shenandoah Valley reference the Read-Johnston accounts, which consist of a single ledger; however, almost nothing is known about the men themselves or the scope of their commercial enterprise.<sup>7</sup> After the ledger, and perhaps also the business partnership, ended in 1770, Matthew Read kept a daybook of his own, spanning roughly 1771 to 1776, that records his transactions with customers in Staunton, except for six months from October 1773 through April 1774 when the daybook entries are all from

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<sup>6</sup> As this project neared its conclusion, Samuel Hale, archivist at the Greenbrier Historical Society in Lewisburg, West Virginia, contacted me with a list of “businesses” compiled from miscellaneous legal papers from the Greenbrier County courthouse that the Greenbrier Historical Society staff just began processing and cataloguing. The documents are primarily a scrap of receipt or court judgement referencing a business transaction and include names of people living in the Greenbrier Valley, as well as eastern Botetourt and Augusta counties. It is nearly impossible to know the extent of a business by a single reference or know whether one document is a personal business transaction or representative of a multi-year commercial venture. Although I have not yet been able to examine the miscellaneous documents, the list the archivist provided reveals that there were likely a few store-taverns, individuals selling merchandise, or business partnerships in the Greenbrier Valley during the revolutionary era. These businesses seemingly operated sporadically during the period of John Stuart and Sampson and George Mathews’ partnership and do not have known extant records beyond these miscellaneous legal records.

<sup>7</sup> Matthew Read and Hugh Johnston Ledger, 1761-1770, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA.

Greenbrier.<sup>8</sup> Items purchased from Matthew Read in Greenbrier are similar to transactions with John Stuart, with the exception of fewer tools and agricultural items and more entries for fabric and sewing notions, alcohol, and books. With little information known about Matthew Read, the reason for his sudden shift to Greenbrier for such a brief period of time is a mystery; however, the daybook offers additional insights into the role of commerce in the creation of the Greenbrier Valley community.

This chapter offers multiple threads of analysis into commercial activity, social exchange, and the development of community in the Greenbrier Valley in the early 1770s. By expanding their business into the Greenbrier Valley, John Stuart, in partnership with Sampson and George Mathews, and Matthew Read moved the geographic scope of the colonial mercantile system further west and extended the reaches of the Atlantic World deeper into the Virginia backcountry.<sup>9</sup> The consumer goods sold at these backcountry stores are uniquely suited to an analysis of community and the shared cultural elements that created a Greenbrier identity as material objects reflect both culture and the process of creating culture.<sup>10</sup> In the Shenandoah Valley, ethnicity and religion were the core elements of settlers' identity, but in the Greenbrier Valley during the revolutionary era, any distinctions were soon refashioned into an identity based on a connection to place – as Greenbrier settlers, Virginians, and then Americans. This

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<sup>8</sup> Matthew Read Journal, 1771-1776, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA; These dates do not correspond to any known event in Greenbrier and are too early to be considered a move to capitalize on the influx of militiamen in Greenbrier in the summer of 1774 for Lord Dunmore's War.

<sup>9</sup> Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 160.

<sup>10</sup> Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 9.

chapter, therefore, explores both the use and cultural meaning of objects and their contributions to identity and the formation of the Greenbrier community.

### **Establishing a Store in the Greenbrier Valley**

The Mathews' family had a substantial history in the Shenandoah Valley. Brothers Sampson and George were the oldest sons of John Mathews, who arrived in Virginia in the 1730s, and was one of the early settlers in the region. He likely migrated into the Valley of Virginia from Pennsylvania after immigrating to the American colonies from Ireland.<sup>11</sup> He settled in the "Irish Tract" on Borden's Tract, the area near present-day Lexington, Virginia, in Rockbridge County, which was a 100,000 acre grant from the Virginia Council to New Jersey native, Benjamin Borden in 1735 (see Figure 4).<sup>12</sup> John Mathews rose from a yeoman farmer to a leader in the region through his business dealings and connections to other regional elites, and he soon moved farther south into the Upper Valley at the Forks of the James River just above present-day Buchanan, Virginia. He married Betsy Ann Archer before moving to the Shenandoah Valley while his sister, also named Betsey, married Robert Renick. While the Mathews, Archer, and Renick families did not intermarry with the Patton, Lewis, and Christian families, who were the true elites of Shenandoah Valley society in the mid-eighteenth century, by the

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<sup>11</sup> G. Melvin Herndon, "George Mathews, Frontier Patriot," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 77, no. 3 (July 1969), 308; Carol Sue Ebel, "First Men: Changing Patterns of Leadership on the Virginia and Georgia Frontiers, 1642-1815" (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 1996), 108.

<sup>12</sup> Warren Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 40.

time John Mathews died in 1756, he had some of the most substantial land holdings in the Upper Valley.<sup>13</sup>

Sampson and George Mathews first appeared in Augusta County records in the mid-1750s, and each served in various roles in Augusta County prior to the American Revolution. These roles included vestrymen, warden, tax collector, surveyor of roads, justice of the peace, sheriff, and trustee of the town of Staunton.<sup>14</sup> In 1761, Staunton was the westernmost Virginia town, and as the town grew, so did the brothers' success as keepers of an ordinary, farmers, land speculators, and merchants.<sup>15</sup> In the 1760s, the Mathews dealt primarily in retail trade locally and supplied ordinary and tavern keepers with imported liquor.<sup>16</sup> They also transported supplies for the militia during the Seven Years' War.<sup>17</sup> Through the 1760s the Mathews were among a handful of well-established merchants in Staunton who gradually built trade connections outside the region, to the north and east, and dispersed goods throughout the Shenandoah Valley and regions farther west like the Greenbrier Valley. Backcountry merchants who were active in full-time trade, whether retail or wholesale, were few in number and based primarily in Staunton. Those who were successful, like the Mathews, cultivated diverse commercial interests even as they often remained merchant-farmers for much of their lives.<sup>18</sup> By the

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<sup>13</sup> Ebel, "First Men," 123-125, 148-149.

<sup>14</sup> Ebel, "First Men," 129, 142; Vestry Book of Augusta Parish, 1746-1776, Pt. 2, Augusta County Clerk's Office, Augusta County Courthouse, Staunton, VA.

<sup>15</sup> Ebel, "First Men," 138-142; Robert D. Mitchell, "Agricultural Change and the American Revolution: A Virginia Case Study," *Agricultural History* 47, no. 2 (Apr., 1973): 127, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3742028> (accessed 26 March 2013); Turk McCleskey, *The Road to Black Ned's Forge: A Story of Race, Sex, and Trade on the Colonial American Frontier* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 1.

<sup>16</sup> Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier*, 216-217.

<sup>17</sup> Ebel, "First Men," 142.

<sup>18</sup> Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier*, 216-217, 156.

end of the 1760s, the Mathews brothers expanded their economic enterprises to include import trade beyond the Shenandoah Valley with commercial networks reaching Richmond, Philadelphia, London, and Glasgow.<sup>19</sup> Through these networks, historian Carol Ebel writes that the brothers “brought the outside world to Staunton and Augusta County” and were the principal merchants in the Upper Shenandoah Valley by the mid-1770s.<sup>20</sup>

Expanding commercial networks supported business interests, but the Mathews’ brothers also made use of their family connections to form kinship networks that provided additional business and personal support. Sampson married Mary Lockhart, the daughter of Augusta County sheriff and magistrate James Lockhart.<sup>21</sup> This familial connection was fruitful as the Mathews partnered with Sampson’s brother-in-law Patrick Lockhart, a merchant near the town of Fincastle, for business ventures and legal matters in eastern Botetourt County. Beyond Sampson’s connections by marriage, there were nine other Mathews siblings who strengthened the family’s kinship networks through intermarriage with many other settlers in the Upper Shenandoah Valley.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Mitchell writes that the brothers “had trading accounts with Perkins, Buchanan and Brown in London through Thomas Adams in Richmond and with Cunningham and Company in Glasgow through John Turner in Rocky Ridge just west of Richmond.” See Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier*, 217; Ebel, “First Men,” 143.

<sup>20</sup> Ebel, “First Men,” 144.

<sup>21</sup> For family connections between Sampson Mathews and Patrick Lockhart, see Lyman C. Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia: Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, VA: The Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912), 1:364, 368; For Patrick Lockhart as a Botetourt merchant, see Thwaites and Kellogg, 182, 184; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; For Patrick Lockhart’s partnership with Sampson and George Mathews, see Botetourt County Deed Book 2:520-521, 5:424.

<sup>22</sup> Ebel, “First Men,” 148-149.



In 1771, after creating a commercial empire in Staunton and the Shenandoah Valley, Sampson and George Mathews formed a business partnership with John Stuart and established a store in the Greenbrier Valley. Although no records exist to explain their exact rationale for establishing a store at that exact time, the economic circumstances during the period of peace and prosperity after the French and Indian War and population growth in the Greenbrier Valley were certainly contributing factors. During the early 1770s, the colonies experienced a commercial boom after the repeal of the Townshend Duties in the late 1760s, which had placed taxes on many items entering colonial ports.<sup>23</sup> In the 1770s, British goods flooded into the American colonies as the long-delayed demand brought imports to unprecedented heights. At the same time, there was a credit boom in Britain amidst high tobacco prices after a successful crop.<sup>24</sup> In the midst of an increase in goods and overflowing inventories among colonial merchants, the Mathews brothers may very well have decided to seize the moment to expand their business. The Greenbrier Valley was experiencing a growth in population after the end of the French and Indian War no longer deterred settlers and the creation of Botetourt County in 1769 moved county government closer to the Greenbrier region.

An additional impetus for establishing a store in the Greenbrier Valley was John Stuart's move from the Shenandoah Valley into Greenbrier in 1769. Evidence of a

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<sup>23</sup> Richard B. Sheridan, "The British Credit Crisis of 1772 and the American Colonies," *Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (June 1960), 170.

<sup>24</sup> Sheridan, "The British Credit Crisis of 1772," 171-173; 1771 was the peak year for British imports until the 1790s. See Jacob Price, *Capital and Credit in British Overseas Trade: The View from the Chesapeake, 1700-1776* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 130; The boom period of imports was soon followed by an oversaturation of goods, falling tobacco prices due to excess supply after several years of successful crops, and over speculation in trade company shares.

business partnership between John Stuart and Sampson and George Mathews is found in an abundance of promissory notes from Greenbrier customers that state that payments are owed to “Messrs. Samp & Geo Mathews & John Stewart” or “John Stewart & Co” (see Figure 26).<sup>25</sup> There is also a 1780 letter between John Lewis and Sampson Mathews that includes a note from Mathews stating that John Stuart is expected in Staunton to discuss his partnership account.<sup>26</sup> John Stuart, whose name is spelled both Stewart and Stuart in the documentary records, grew up in Augusta County and certainly knew the Mathews brothers. Given the influx of settlers in Greenbrier, it is easy to envision Stuart telling Sampson and George Mathews about the need for a store in Greenbrier that could sell goods to settlers and collect deerskins and other items that were desirable in Staunton and beyond. With extensive commercial networks already in place, the Mathews were uniquely situated to establish and supply a store in the Greenbrier Valley both because of their prominence in business in the Shenandoah Valley and their experience transporting supplies through the mountains during the French and Indian War.

While the Greenbrier store was a partnership between John Stuart and Sampson and George Mathews, this connection is a recent discovery. The Mathews brothers maintained their businesses, homes, and duties in Staunton and Augusta County and never physically moved to the Greenbrier Valley, so it was evident that they had someone else managing the day-to-day tasks at the store. I first identified John Stuart, whose name alternated between spellings of “Stuart” and “Stewart” throughout the revolutionary era,

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<sup>25</sup> Box 2 – Personal Receipts, Bills, and Notes, 1763-1799, Stuart Family Papers, 1785-1880, West Virginia & Regional History Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

<sup>26</sup> John Lewis to Sampson Mathews, February 1780, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

as a storekeeper at the Greenbrier business because one of the daybooks includes a faint reference to “John Stewart his[...].” on the top of the first page (see Figure 27). Though the corner of the page is partially torn, the first letter of the next word is partially legible and lends itself toward a “D” which could refer to “Daybook.”<sup>27</sup> The other daybook also includes a reference to John Stuart with a note stating that “From this side begins John Stewart’s Acct in 1772” (see Figure 28).<sup>28</sup> The ledger itself does not include references to John Stuart beyond the actual accounts; however, it was clear that Sampson and George Mathews were not managing the store, which local tradition referred to as the “Mathews Trading Post” since there are accounts for the Mathews and their Staunton store, as well as references to “my private Acct” which implied a distinction between the Mathews and the Greenbrier storekeeper.<sup>29</sup> In addition to references to John Stuart in the various promissory notes and receipts held at the Greenbrier Historical Society and the surviving account books, Stuart’s position as the Greenbrier County Clerk in the 1780s ensures that there are abundant samples of his handwriting, which easily matches the Greenbrier store records.

Though the decision to establish a store in the Greenbrier Valley may be partially explained by the broader economic context of the early 1770s, and John Stuart’s partnership, the store’s exact location and any strategy involved in selecting the store site

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<sup>27</sup> Sampson and George Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>28</sup> Sampson and George Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>29</sup> There are more than a dozen references to “my” use or repair of items, or my books, accounts, and orders. There are also references to both Sampson and George Mathews and John Stuart by name and accounts for each. The record keeper also made references to “my wife” in the accounts, which could not reference either of the Mathews brothers’ wives as they did not live in Greenbrier. See Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784.

are completely unknown. Although the documentary record does not identify the store's location, local tradition, which also identifies the Mathews as the store's sole owners and managers, states that it was situated just southeast of present-day Lewisburg, West Virginia, on the south side of a narrow section of the Greenbrier River (see Figures 29-31). Tradition also states that the shallows of the river near the store were historically known as Mathews Ford, as a place where settlers crossed the Greenbrier River and a modern road on the north side of the river is named "Mathews Ford."<sup>30</sup> Although relying on local tradition, by establishing the business at this crucial transportation point, the Mathews brothers and John Stuart would have positioned themselves at the center of migration into the region.<sup>31</sup> The extent of business transacted at the store as well as notations in the ledger stating the various locations of the settlers' homes from 1771 through 1775 supports the idea that the business was central to the community and played an important role in the area's social and cultural development through the early 1770s.

Attempts to confirm the store's location along the Greenbrier River required examining surveyor records and turning to the expertise of archaeologists who have spent decades studying the Greenbrier Valley. I worked with Kim McBride, co-director of the Kentucky Archaeological Survey, and W. Stephen McBride, Director of Interpretation and Archaeology at Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park, who have conducted excavations at numerous frontier forts throughout the Greenbrier region since 1990.

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<sup>30</sup> The ledger includes references to purchases made at a store in Staunton as well as Calfpasture. The Calfpasture River runs from north to south through the eastern side of the George Washington and Jefferson National Forest from U.S. Route 250 due west of Staunton, Virginia to Interstate 64 to the west of Lexington, Virginia.

<sup>31</sup> Otis K. Rice, *History of Greenbrier County* (Parsons, WV: McClain Printing Company, 1986), 101.

Greenbrier Company surveys include a 140 acre survey along the Greenbrier River for Sampson and George Mathews while none of John Stuart's surveys are identifiably along the Greenbrier River or connected to the tradition of the store's location.<sup>32</sup> By plotting the Mathews' acreage and adjoining surveys on topographic maps of the area, Kim and Stephen McBride found that the survey calls and measurements line up with the Mathews Ford Road on the north side of the Greenbrier River with enough land on the southern side of the river to encompass the area that local tradition ascribes to the store's location.<sup>33</sup> While this is not conclusive evidence, it gives additional weight to the local tradition about the store's location and suggests the importance of the store to early inhabitants.

### **Store and Tavern**

Ordinaries and taverns were critical to local economies and in a rural area like the Greenbrier Valley, with the town of Fincastle nearly seventy miles away and the town of Staunton more than 100 miles away, they were not only a place where monetary transactions took place, but also the shared public space where local residents, typically men, could hear the latest news, discuss business or debate politics, and participate in recreational and competitive activities while they downed pints of alcohol. Rum was one of the first and most frequently purchased items at the Greenbrier store and it was sold by the half-pint or pint, quart, half-gallon, and gallon. The pints of rum, which were often

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<sup>32</sup> Greenbrier Company Surveys from the Virginia Land Office, 1751-1776, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

<sup>33</sup> Email communication between Sarah E. McCartney and Kim A. McBride, June 16, 2015.

paired with stew or “diets,” a term for a meal, reveal that customers were eating and drinking on-site at the store in addition to purchasing alcohol to take home.<sup>34</sup> This information reveals that the Greenbrier business functioned not only as a store, but also as a tavern and, situated along a main transportation route through the Greenbrier Valley, it would have been accessible to both travelers and local residents.<sup>35</sup>

Studying taverns in established communities with many surviving sources has allowed historians to reconstruct tavern culture, but in the backcountry where there are fewer extant sources, scholars have rarely considered taverns except as markers of economic growth in a region.<sup>36</sup> Considering the role of the Greenbrier store as a tavern allows for an analysis of the tavern’s contributions to social exchange in Greenbrier society. Whether through the products sold, or the social practices and attitudes among men in the Greenbrier Valley examining the Mathews-Stuart business as both store and tavern also contributes to an understanding of the creation of identity and community, since it was not just a place to buy and sell, but a place to linger and converse, share stories and news, participate in card games and shooting competitions, and discuss business.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>35</sup> The Greenbrier store and tavern were not the only joint store-tavern business in the backcountry. Research by historian Daniel B. Thorp on the Lowrance store and tavern in Rowan County, North Carolina, has many similarities with the Greenbrier store. John Lowrance ran his store and tavern for approximately twenty years from the 1750s through 1770s, despite never having a tavern license. While the Lowrance store, and Greenbrier store, clearly functioned as one entity with intertwined accounts for both store and tavern, Thorp notes that other dual-function backcountry businesses kept separate accounts leaving scholars to wonder if they functioned as a single entity or separate businesses. See Daniel B. Thorp, “Taverns and Tavern Culture on the Southern Colonial Frontier: Rowan County, North Carolina, 1753-1776,” *Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 4 (November 1996), 668, 674.

<sup>36</sup> Thorp, “Taverns and Tavern Culture on the Southern Colonial Frontier,” 663.

<sup>37</sup> Nancy L. Struna, *People of Prowess: Sport, Leisure, and Labor in Early Anglo-America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 145-146; Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing*

Throughout the colonial era, middling white women increasingly ran taverns in Virginia, although “respectable” women rarely patronized taverns for their own social gatherings and activities.<sup>38</sup> In the Greenbrier Valley, John Stuart is identified as the manager of the store and tavern and, although it is possible that a woman who does not appear in the store records could have been working at the tavern. Stuart was unmarried at the time, so it was certainly not a family affair.<sup>39</sup> Given the absence of women as managers of the business and no mention in the store records of women buying any of the pints of rum or meals Stuart sold, the Greenbrier store and tavern were primarily a place for men to gather. While women might engage with the store side of the business, the tavern fortified the communal bonds of Greenbrier’s men who often fought and worked alongside each other, but could also socialize together even as they competed in various tavern games and contests.<sup>40</sup>

In colonial Virginia, ordinaries and taverns were regulated by both county government and the colony, with the county magistrates issuing licenses to ordinary keepers and setting the price for food and beverages, while the Governor and his council submitted reminders for county legislators to collect the appropriate fees and payments.<sup>41</sup>

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*and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 17-19; Sarah Hand Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery: Alcohol, Gender, and Technology in the Colonial Chesapeake* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 67; Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 48-82.

<sup>38</sup> Sarah Hand Meacham, “Keeping the Trade: The Persistence of Tavernkeeping among Middling Women in Colonial Virginia,” *Early American Studies* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2005), 141; Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution*, 75.

<sup>39</sup> Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 72-73.

<sup>40</sup> Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 126-127.

<sup>41</sup> Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, 122-127.

In the eighteenth century, county magistrates only issued ordinary licenses to middling and upper-sort families in the Chesapeake colonies of Virginia and Maryland, and these ordinary keepers were often well-connected as small planters, artisans, prominent widows, or government employees.<sup>42</sup> According to historian Sarah Meacham, taverns and ordinaries “that were not owned by magistrates and planter-merchants outright still depended on them for operating licenses, alcoholic drinks, and customers,” so the preference for the middling and upper-sort as ordinary and tavern keepers was in some ways an extension of Virginia’s elite and their large plantations.<sup>43</sup>

Successful petitions for ordinary licenses were typically backed by a planter-merchant or large planter, which was the experience at the Greenbrier store where Sampson and George Mathews provided the commercial networks and supplied the goods while John Stuart ran the business.<sup>44</sup> The need, in part, for substantial financial backing for ordinary and tavern keepers was because merchants could sue for payment of customers’ debts, which Stuart and the Mathews did quite often across multiple counties throughout the 1770s and 1780s, while ordinary and tavern keepers could not.<sup>45</sup> Payment at a tavern was similar to a store with customers paying in cash, goods, or services, so the Greenbrier store with its connections to Sampson and George Mathews’ commercial networks in Staunton was uniquely situated to serve as both a store and tavern because

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<sup>42</sup> Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 67.

<sup>43</sup> Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 67.

<sup>44</sup> Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 68.

<sup>45</sup> Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 75.



the networks for accepting and dispersing various forms of payment were already in place.<sup>46</sup>

Although the colony had laws requiring ordinary and tavern keepers to petition for a license from the county and renew it each year, no licenses for Sampson and George Mathews, John Stuart, or anyone else identifiably living in the Greenbrier Valley exist among the Botetourt County court minutes from the early 1770s.<sup>47</sup> In spite of the law requiring licenses, the absence of licenses was actually quite common. In Botetourt County, there were eleven ordinary licenses granted in 1770 with only a single license issued in 1772, which was likely a result of tavern keepers neglecting to seek out a license and county courts not enforcing the law rather than such a steep drop within two years.<sup>48</sup> Ordinary and tavern keepers' delinquency in seeking licenses was to such an extent that in the late 1760s, just a few years prior to the establishment of the Greenbrier store, Virginia Governor Francis Fauquier published a statement in the *Virginia Gazette* directing the county courts to compel ordinary and tavern keepers to renew their licenses and the King's attorney's to prosecute offenders.<sup>49</sup> A few years later in 1773, the problem of enforcing licenses was again addressed in the *Virginia Gazette* as Robert Carter Nicholas, Treasurer of the Colony, noted that the funds expected to be raised from the fee for licenses had decreased and attorneys were told to demand payment and

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<sup>46</sup> Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 78.

<sup>47</sup> 1770-1775, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 58-238.

<sup>48</sup> Paton Yoder, "Tavern Regulation in Virginia: Rationale and Reality," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 87, no. 3 (July 1979), 269.

<sup>49</sup> Francis Fauquier Advertisement, *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), November 11, 1766, 2.

prosecute delinquents as it was necessary.<sup>50</sup> This delinquency and the number of unlicensed taverns provides strong evidence for the importance of public drinking houses since few people were prosecuted or charged with selling liquor without a license, despite the taverns operating openly and often serving county justices, or in the case of the Greenbrier store, being in partnership with the Mathews who were Augusta County justices.<sup>51</sup>

Ordinaries and taverns typically sold alcoholic drinks and simple foods produced on-site, as was also customary at the Greenbrier store with account entries for alcohol and food, either as “diets” or stew.<sup>52</sup> At the Greenbrier store, rum-based drinks were the primary type of beverage customers purchased and some entries specifically identified “West India Rum.”<sup>53</sup> In the eighteenth century, Barbados and Jamaica were the leading producers of Caribbean rum for the English-speaking world, and in 1768, roughly sixty percent of Barbadian rum was shipped to the North American colonies with seventeen percent coming to Virginia and Maryland.<sup>54</sup> While Sampson and George Mathews’ commercial networks for the acquisition of rum are unknown, whether they received shipments from eastern Virginia, or from Baltimore or Philadelphia via the Shenandoah Valley, it is likely that imported rum sold at the Greenbrier store in the early 1770s was from Barbados.

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<sup>50</sup> Robert Carter Nicholas, Treasurer, *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), January 7, 1773, 2.

<sup>51</sup> Thorp, “Taverns and Tavern Culture,” 669-670.

<sup>52</sup> Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 80.

<sup>53</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>54</sup> Frederick H. Smith, *Caribbean Rum: A Social and Economic History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 49, 84, 86; Seventeen percent equaled 258,000 gallons of rum while New England received thirteen percent and the city of Philadelphia received ten percent.

In addition to rum imported from the Caribbean, the 1770 Botetourt County ordinary rates included pricing “for rum made on this continent.”<sup>55</sup> The difference in prices is striking with continental rum costing only two shillings and six pence per gallon compared to the ten shillings per gallon for West India Rum. The implication of the rates is that someone in Botetourt County’s expansive territory was drinking or producing North American-made rum.<sup>56</sup> In 1771, the Greenbrier store charged twelve shillings per gallon of West India Rum, which perhaps speaks to the additional cost of transporting goods nearly 100 miles from Staunton to the store on the Greenbrier River. Despite only a handful of references specifically to West India Rum in the store accounts, the prices for rum by pint and half-pint at the Greenbrier store match the proportional pricing for West India Rum rather than continental rum.<sup>57</sup> Rum distilled in North America typically came from New England because there were few rum distilleries in the southern colonies. Virginians notably preferred the taste of Caribbean rum, so it is not surprising that Greenbrier settlers drank imported rum; however, continentally-made rum was included in the Botetourt County ordinary rates, therefore, some American-made rum may have been consumed in the region.<sup>58</sup>

Rum was sold in many measurements and was an ingredient in several different beverages purchased at the Greenbrier store. It was most commonly sold in half-pints or

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<sup>55</sup> Ordinary Rates, 13 February, 1770, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 64-65.

Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>57</sup> A gallon of West India Rum was twelve shillings and one-sixteenth of a gallon would have cost nine pence, which is the same price as the many half-pints of rum commonly bought and identified simply as “rum” at the store. Apparently, there was not a price savings for buying in bulk at the Greenbrier store.

<sup>58</sup> Fred Smith notes that there was one rum distillery in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1780 and “the poor taste of its product was infamous.” See Smith, *Caribbean Rum*, 85.

pints, which were typically rum mixed with water; however, the store accounts also identify rum served sweetened, and rum-based beverages like bumbo and eggnog.<sup>59</sup> “Bumbo” was a popular eighteenth-century beverage mixing rum and sugar. It was identified specifically in Botetourt County ordinary rates based on the type of sugar used in the recipe with white sugar costing one shilling and three pence compared to the single shilling for a bowl of bumbo made with brown sugar.<sup>60</sup> Stuart apparently sold white sugar bumbo in different quantities because “1 bowl bumbo” could cost either one shilling and three pence, or two shillings and six pence. The holiday season brought eggnog and half a dozen men partook of the seasonal beverage at Stuart’s tavern at the New Year in 1773. While most of the other beverages were a combination of rum, water, and sugar, eggnog required eggs and cream in addition to sugar and alcohol, which was usually brandy and rum. Given the prevalence of rum and the absence of any references to brandy, eggnog may have been made solely with rum at Stuart’s business.<sup>61</sup> In spite of various references to pints and bowls, there was only one instance where the type of container used to carry the rum was specifically identified and it was described as “a pint of rum in a bottle.”<sup>62</sup> Since bottles for storing alcohol were expensive and the colonies

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<sup>59</sup> Meacham notes that because rum was mixed with water, a gallon of it could produce more drinks than other beverages. See Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 85; Helen Bullock, *The Williamsburg Art of Cookery* (Richmond, VA: Colonial Williamsburg, 1938), 222-223.

<sup>60</sup> “Bumbo with two gills of Rum to the quart made with white sugar” was one shilling and three pence while “Bumbo with two gills of Rum to the quart made with brown sugar” was one shilling per quart. See Ordinary Rates, 13 February 1770, in *Annals*, ed. Summers, 64-65.

<sup>61</sup> For the recipe for eggnog, see Helen Bullock, *The Williamsburg Art of Cookery* (Richmond, VA: Colonial Williamsburg, 1938), 222-223.

<sup>62</sup> Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

produced little glass, finding only one reference to a “bottle” of alcohol at the Greenbrier store is unsurprising for eighteenth-century Virginia.<sup>63</sup>

Along with beverages, customers purchased food for man and beast from the Greenbrier store. Meals, identified as “diets” and stew are the only the type of fare available to feed the men spending time at the store while their animals partook of corn or oats. In 1770, Botetourt County ordinary rates list the cost of a “warm diet with small beer” at nine pence and a “cold diet with small beer” at six pence. Diets at the Greenbrier store cost either nine pence or seven pence, which does not exactly match the county prices, but may equate to a warm or cold meal, although the store records do not include any references to beer.<sup>64</sup> The county courts set the rates for animal feed as either “corn per gallon” at six pence, or “oats by the sheaf” at “three pence for a good large one.”<sup>65</sup> Though at first appearing to be a liquid measure, “corn per gallon” actually referred to a “Winchester gallon,” which was a dry measure used for grain.<sup>66</sup> The county courts also set prices for lodging for travelers; however, there are no records of overnight lodging taking place at Stuart’s Greenbrier store and tavern.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Meacham, “Keeping the Trade,” 148.

<sup>64</sup> Whether or not a “small beer,” which was a beverage brewed primarily from molasses, was part of the meals is unknown though perhaps doubtful as any references to beer are absent in the store records and many diets were served alongside pints of rum. For a discussion of small beer, see Andrew F. Smith, *Drinking History: Fifteen Turning Points in the Making of American Beverages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 12.

<sup>65</sup> Ordinary Rates, 13 February 1770, in *Annals*, ed. Summers, 64-65.

<sup>66</sup> A “corn gallon,” also known as a “Winchester gallon,” was a dry gallon measure used to measure grain. It was equal to about 268.8 cubic inches, or 1/8 “Winchester bushel,” which was defined in 1696 by Parliament as “a cylindrical container 18.5 inches in diameter and 8 inches deep. See R. D. Connor, *The Weights and Measures of England* (London: HMSO, 1987)., Russ Rowlett, “English Customary Weights and Measures,” How Many? A Dictionary of Units of Measurement, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, February 23, 2001, <https://www.unc.edu/~rowlett/units/custom.html> (1 September 2017).

<sup>67</sup> The rates included “lodging in clean sheets, one in a bed” at six pence, while two in a bed was three pence and three farthings, and “more than two” would cost nothing. Meanwhile, horses could be pastured

In contrast to the Greenbrier store and tavern run in partnership between John Stuart and Sampson and George Mathews, Matthew Read's business in the Greenbrier Valley offered whiskey and pints of "licker" rather than rum.<sup>68</sup> Read's commercial networks in Staunton are unknown and it could be that he simply did not have the extensive connections the Mathews had that enabled him to import rum, while Virginians produced whiskey locally. Alternatively, the references to "licker" could identify purchases of rum as the entries for whiskey and "licker" are at times placed next to each other in the customer accounts, which seems to indicate that they were different beverages.<sup>69</sup> In 1770, the Botetourt County court rates record the price of whiskey at five shillings per gallon and in 1775 at six shillings per gallon.<sup>70</sup> The price in Matthew Read's records fluctuates from seven and a half pence per pint to one shilling per pint – a difference of four and a half pence – within just a few months through the winter of 1774, which may correspond to Botetourt County issuing ordinary rates in the new year.<sup>71</sup> It also appears that the whiskey Matthew Read sold was made locally by Greenbrier resident Andrew Donnally who settled his account at Read's business with ten gallons of whiskey.<sup>72</sup> Nothing is known about Andrew Donnally's whiskey-making beyond the entry in Read's daybook; however, distilling whiskey was a practical use for surplus

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for twenty four hours for six pence or stabled "with plenty of hay or fodder" for one night for seven pence and a half penny." See Ordinary Rates, 13 February 1770, in *Annals*, ed. Summers, 64-65.

<sup>68</sup> An ordinary license for Matthew Read does not exist in Botetourt County although he ran his business for six months in 1773 and 1774. Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>69</sup> Smith, *Drinking History*, 61.

<sup>70</sup> Ordinary Rates, 13 February 1770, in *Annals*, ed. Summers, 64-65.

<sup>71</sup> Ordinary Rates, 13 February 1770, in *Annals*, ed. Summers, 64-65; Virginia cider and beer were also included in the Botetourt County ordinary rates, but neither business included references to those beverages.

<sup>72</sup> Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

grain, typically corn or rye.<sup>73</sup> Accounts of an Indian attack on Donnally's home a few years later described Indians hiding in the rye fields near his house.<sup>74</sup>

Matthew Read operated his store and tavern for just six months, through the winter of 1773-1774, and the reason for his move into and out of the region is a mystery; however, the purchases at his business provide additional insight into both commerce and community in the Greenbrier Valley as the stores carried some overlapping goods and others, like whiskey, that were unique. Whiskey was also a popular beverage among the Scots-Irish, who were well-known whiskey makers prior to their arrival in the American colonies, and the influx of Scots-Irish in North America in the mid-eighteenth century coincided with whiskey's increased popularity. Whiskey continued to increase in popularity through the American Revolution as rum became more difficult to import, and settlers could distill their locally-grown crops into whiskey.<sup>75</sup> Toward the end of the war, concerns about the large quantity of grain consumed by the distilleries led Virginia to prohibit distillers from using grain for about three months.<sup>76</sup>

The discovery that both the Mathews-Stuart and Read businesses functioned as stores and taverns greatly increases the significance of the businesses within the

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<sup>73</sup> Smith, *Drinking History*, 17-18.

<sup>74</sup> Smith, *Drinking History*, 17-18; John Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars and other occurrences, 1749-1780," Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

<sup>75</sup> Smith, *Drinking History*, 17-18; For the centrality of whiskey to Scots-Irish life in Ireland see David W. Miller, "Searching for a New World: The Background and Baggage of Scots-Irish Immigrants" in *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012), 13; C. C. Pearson and J. Edwin Hendricks, *Liquor and Anti-Liquor in Virginia, 1619-1919* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967), 8; Daniel Thorp notes the seasonality of whiskey making and the rise and fall of prices in Rowan County; however, because Matthew Read's store only functioned for six months in Greenbrier, it is impossible to establish a full calendar for analysis. See Thorp, "Business in the Backcountry," 404.

<sup>76</sup> The act was in place from February to May 1779. See Henry G. Crowgey, *Kentucky Bourbon: The Early Years of Whiskeymaking* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008), 19.

community. The businesses were not simply places where Greenbrier Valley settlers shared the consumer practices of buying and selling, but they were places where they congregated and socialized over pints of alcohol and meals. In addition to unstructured gatherings for local residents making purchases or travelers moving through the area, both businesses also offered more structured recreational activities that were popular in eighteenth-century public houses throughout the American colonies. Recreational activities encouraged communal bonds through social clubs and competitions that allowed men to demonstrate their marksmanship with shooting matches or their mental and strategic abilities with card games.

### **Clubbing and Competition**

In addition to creating shared public spaces for informal social drinking, eighteenth-century taverns also offered a setting for men's private social clubs to gather. This practice of "clubbing" developed first in seventeenth-century England with gentlemen who had mutual political or business interests, but by the eighteenth century, American colonists adopted the practice as well.<sup>77</sup> Clubs meeting at taverns may have been provided a separate room for their gathering and they were often served as a single unit by the tavern keeper, with each member of the group paying his portion of the total bill for food or drink in addition to any charges for special arrangements like the use of a

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<sup>77</sup> Thorp, "Taverns in Colonial Rowan County," 686; Margaretta Lovell described fraternal social clubs in eighteenth-century Rhode Island that "reinforced financial, familial and gender bonds." See Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution*, 240.



private room.<sup>78</sup> Elite Virginians, like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and John Page, often attended clubs when they visited Williamsburg and were not able to entertain guests at their own homes.<sup>79</sup> Clubs often were informal gatherings, and Washington's diaries describe clubs he attended that consisted of dinner with friends who did not have homes nearby and an evening spent playing cards or talking.<sup>80</sup> Despite the informality, many elite clubs provided clear direction about the club's purpose to foster unity and celebration and gentlemanly behavior.<sup>81</sup>

The practice of social clubs and clubbing was also popular in the Greenbrier Valley in the 1770s as both Greenbrier businesses record account entries "To Club" between 1771 and 1774.<sup>82</sup> While there is no evidence that club members at the Greenbrier store paid for a private space, payments "To Club" include the purchase of stew, rum, sweet rum, corn, and eggnog. These entries also reveal the types of activities the men participated in with payments to the club "at shooting" and "at cards."<sup>83</sup> Although entries for "clubs" span more than three years in the Greenbrier store records, most references occurred over just a few days during the Christmas season of 1772 and 1773.

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<sup>78</sup> Jane Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1965), 266.

<sup>79</sup> Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play*, 266-268.

<sup>80</sup> Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play*, 266.

<sup>81</sup> Peter Thompson, "'The Friendly Glass': Drink and Gentility in Colonial Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 113, no. 4 (Oct. 1989), 557; Daniel Thorp notes that by the 1760s, the practice of forming social clubs reached the backcountry as there were entries "To Club" as "evidence of spreading gentility" in at least one tavern in Rowan County, North Carolina. See Thorp, "Taverns in Colonial Rowan County," 687.

<sup>82</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>83</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

Winter offered Greenbrier men a change of pace at the end of the agricultural season and the threat of Indian attacks diminished during the winter months when Native Americans hunted and the snowy and mountainous region inhibited easy travel. Across five days between December 29, 1772, and January 2, 1773, approximately two dozen men made purchases “To Club.”<sup>84</sup> While it is impossible to absolutely distinguish whether or not there was one large social club or several groups, the entries included seventeen purchases for “stew” as well as “To Club at cards” or “To Club at eggnog” that hint at some of the clubs groupings based on who split the cost of which items.<sup>85</sup> Sharing food and drink in clubs fostered unity and celebration necessarily contributed to the development of a Greenbrier identity as the men gathered and bonded through leisurely social activities; however, they also used these gatherings as an opportunity to demonstrate their prowess in shooting, which was an essential skill for backcountry men.

Alongside club purchases of food and drink, the accounts document a New Year’s shooting match seemingly sponsored by John Stuart and the Greenbrier store in 1773. While nothing is known about the competition at the Greenbrier store beyond the entries in the store accounts, the men paid one shilling for their “chance at shooting” and the winners received goods or store credit in return. While customers likely stopped by the tavern informally, a shooting match likely promised an increase in business. Certain activities were particularly suited to the tavern environment, especially card or dice games, and shooting contests.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>85</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>86</sup> Struna, *People of Prowess*, 148.

Writing about his travels through the backcountry years later, Joseph Doddridge recounted his experience at a shooting match, saying “Shooting at marks was a common diversion among the men, when their stock of ammunition would allow it” and they might test their marksmanship against trees or aim at targets typically found indoors, such as candle flames.<sup>87</sup> These competitions were important elements of the eighteenth-century male world and merit-based leadership, especially in a region like Greenbrier where a man’s skill as a marksman could provide food for his family, kill an animal poised for attack, or be used defensively or offensively against Native Americans. Although the combination of alcohol, weapons, and competition may have presented an opportunity for violence, Joseph Doddridge’s experience and Stuart and Read’s account entries for men buying chances at shooting suggest that these backcountry events were friendly contests demonstrating necessary skills.<sup>88</sup>

A week after the shooting match at the Greenbrier store, John Stuart balanced his accounts and identified eighteen men who purchased “chances at shooting at New Year” in their accounts. The competition winners were Andrew Donnally, who received two shillings and seven pence credit “won at shooting” on the same day as the match, while Abraham Heptonstall received one pound, sixteen shillings, and a half-penny of “goods won at shooting New Year” months later.<sup>89</sup> Although Abraham Heptonstall was not

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<sup>87</sup> Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania from 1763 to 1783* (Akron, OH: New Werner Company, 1912), 124.

<sup>88</sup> Struna, *People of Prowess*, 153; Elliott Gorn describes fighting and male culture in the backcountry, see Elliott J. Gorn, “‘Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch’: The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry,” *American Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (Feb. 1985): 18-43.

<sup>89</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

prominent in the Greenbrier Valley, Andrew Donnally was, and in the Virginia backcountry where men emphasized merit-based respect and leadership, Donnally's proficiency as a marksman may well have contributed to his standing in the community.

Although Matthew Read's business only operated in the Greenbrier Valley for six months, Read also hosted social clubs and shooting competitions, demonstrating enthusiasm for this type of communal activity.<sup>90</sup> While clubs gathering at Stuart's tavern ate stew and drank various rum-based beverages, clubs meeting at Matthew Read's store and tavern purchased "licker."<sup>91</sup> Card games were a popular activity at taverns as they required little setup and were easy to play as customers leisurely drank and talked. At Read's store, several customers who experienced losses at cards were noted in the records for their debt against the store. Matthew Read's store also sponsored shooting matches, with entries in January 1774 and customers competing for leggings, a gun, or cash. Although the winners of the leggings and gun were unidentified, Thomas Carpenter's account included six shillings "to cash won at shooting" and George Blackburn's account included an entry for "winins."<sup>92</sup>

Beyond the immediate social currency of competition at the Greenbrier Valley's businesses, the taverns also offered residents a place to gather for shared cultural traditions and celebrations that reached across the Atlantic. Historian Nancy Struna noted that traditions were practices people constructed "to make sense of themselves and

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<sup>90</sup> Matthew Read's store operated in Greenbrier from October 1773 to April 1774; Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>91</sup> Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>92</sup> Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

their world,” which connected the past and present, established continuity and cohesiveness, and enabled people “to present and represent themselves in understandable ways.”<sup>93</sup> In the Greenbrier Valley, as a region that was finally experiencing new population growth in the early 1770s after decades of frontier warfare, social gatherings incorporated new settlers into the community and encouraged socializing with those who were already established. Beyond connecting British, European, and colonial American practices, traditions solidified the community through shared cultural elements that developed Greenbrier settlers’ identity as inhabitants of the Greenbrier Valley.

Celebrating traditions and anniversaries was perhaps most evident in the customers’ seasonal gatherings and the calendar of holidays they chose to observe. In keeping with British customs, American colonists often kept an extensive calendar of holidays including days between Christmas and New Year’s, the Monday and Tuesday after Easter, royal anniversaries, and religious holidays like St. George’s Day and the anniversary of the 1606 Catholic gunpowder plot.<sup>94</sup> Beginning in the 1760s, there were twenty days each year when Protestants in Ireland participated in commemorative celebrations, including two dates that evidently transferred to the Virginia backcountry – the queen’s birthday on January 18 and St. Patrick’s Day on March 17, which was a holiday embraced by both Irish Catholics and Protestants beginning in the 1740s.<sup>95</sup> In

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<sup>93</sup> Struna, *People of Prowess*, 119.

<sup>94</sup> Struna, *People of Prowess*, 131.

<sup>95</sup> Protestants memorialized the day very much as they did on July 1 when they honored William of Orange. See James Kelly, “‘The Glorious and Immortal Memory’: Commemoration and Protestant Identity in Ireland, 1660-1800,” in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* 94C, no. 2 (1994), 42.

colonial Virginia, several editions of the *Virginia Almanack* included these dates among the monthly calendar, which further indicates their prominence in colonial society.<sup>96</sup> In the 1770s, American colonists added the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act to their celebrations on March 18, and almanacs began listing fewer of the king's days while adding new anniversaries like the battle at Lexington and Concord in 1776.<sup>97</sup> The eventual absence of holidays related to the king, and the addition of new holidays unique to the American colonies, marks a shift in identity as colonists, although subjects of the English crown, saw themselves as a distinct entity with their own days of celebration.

In the Greenbrier Valley, without a courthouse and the lure of a court day each month, celebrations connected to traditions and anniversaries offered an opportunity for customers to gather at the Greenbrier businesses on particular dates. January brought some of the heaviest traffic of the year to Stuart's store and while it may seem unusual or surprising that January would be a peak month for business in a snowy, mountainous region, the dates coincide with the celebration of Queen Charlotte's birthday on January 18. On March 18 and 19, Matthew Read's daybook recorded a wave of customers

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<sup>96</sup> *The Virginia Almanack for the year of our Lord God 1771*, Williamsburg [Va.]: Printed and sold by Purdie and Dixon., 1770. Early American Imprints, Series I, no. 11913 (accessed 2 September 2017); *The Virginia Almanack for the year of our Lord, 1772*, Williamsburg [Va.]: Printed and sold by William Rind, 1771. Early American Imprints, Series I, no. 12266 (accessed 2 September 2017); *The Virginia Almanack for the year of our Lord God 1773*, Williamsburg [Va.]: Printed and sold by Purdie and Dixon, 1772. Early American Imprints, Series I, no. 12593 (accessed 2 September 2017); *The Virginia Almanack for the year of our Lord God 1774*, Williamsburg [Va.]: Printed and sold by Purdie and Dixon, 1773. Early American Imprints, Series I, no. 13059 (accessed 2 September 2017).

<sup>97</sup> David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 25-26, 46; Benjamin Bankhurst notes that toasts among Ulster Protestants were a way that colonial news was incorporated, although briefly, onto their mental map and "Euro-American suffering at the hands of Native Americans was propagated in Ulster" in the mid-eighteenth century. See Benjamin Bankhurst, *Ulster Presbyterians and the Scots Irish Diaspora, 1750-1764* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 54-56.

purchasing whiskey, who were, perhaps, refashioning their identity as they honored both their Irish ancestry and supported American patriotism by raising a pint in celebration of St. Patrick's Day and the Stamp Act's repeal.<sup>98</sup>

Examining the Mathews-Stuart and Read businesses in the context of their roles as taverns reveals the way these spaces could serve to reinforce male culture in the Greenbrier Valley. Customers solidified their relationships with neighbors and friends, and formed new acquaintances, while competitions brought recognition, or perhaps humiliation, to men in Greenbrier's community. The celebration of holidays and anniversaries reinforced the traditions of their ethnic identities, and new festivities emphasized their identity as American colonists. These social interactions transferred beyond the walls of the Mathews-Stuart or Read businesses and influenced other parts of Greenbrier's community. They also contributed to the community's connections to a wider backcountry and colonial community, as well as an Atlantic World. These interactions provide another layer of analysis and understanding in the development of a shared identity in the revolutionary-era Greenbrier Valley.

### **The Tools of Daily Life**

Although both Greenbrier stores functioned as taverns, they were still primarily a place for settlers to purchase the goods necessary for life in the Virginia backcountry, and

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<sup>98</sup> January 18-21, 1774; These men were most likely what are referred to today as Scots-Irish, Irish Protestants, or Ulster Scots; however, in the eighteenth century their primary identity was Irish, as noted in descriptions of the Scots-Irish settlements in the Shenandoah Valley as the "Irish Tract."; Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary; For an account of St. Patrick's Day festivities in the British colonies, see *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), April 11, 1766, 2.

utilitarian items and tools connected Greenbrier settlers to an Atlantic World of exchange through the spread of technology that was then adapted for use in the American colonies, as well as the physical movement of goods across the Atlantic. Matthew Read's store had a minimal selection of tools, such as axes and knives, while John Stuart kept a larger inventory, including awls, files, rasps, hoes, axes, chisels, saws, and nails.<sup>99</sup>

Axes and hoes were necessary for agricultural tasks like felling trees, clearing land, and planting crops. In the revolutionary era, American blacksmiths produced many of the colonists iron tools and as they adapted and modified items based on experience and need, they created new American forms.<sup>100</sup> Although settlers immigrating to the backcountry might bring axes in traditional European forms with them, Gary Kulik noted that sometime in the late eighteenth century "a new axe shape emerged in the clearings of North America" and that, although historians can only speculate about its origins, "the form itself is clearly an example of a kind of folk engineering – a vernacular form that caught on."<sup>101</sup> In the American colonies, the process of girdling trees rather than felling them saved labor, but took greater time and was not conducive for planting crops like wheat that required cleared fields while tobacco and corn could be planted among girdled trees. In addition, felling trees more easily signified "improvement" to the land and

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<sup>99</sup> Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>100</sup> Gary Kulik, "American Difference Revisited: The Case of the American Axe," in *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, eds. Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison (Winterthur: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997), 29.

<sup>101</sup> Henry C. Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools* (Doylestown: Bucks County Historical Society, 1929), 4; Kulik, "American Difference Revisited," 34.



ensured settlers' land claims, as well as more quickly producing the necessary resources to construct houses.<sup>102</sup>

As the primary tool for rapidly clearing land, it is unsurprising that both Greenbrier stores sold axes, but while Matthew Read's entries were simply for "axe," entries in John Stuart's records specified two types of axes sold at his store.<sup>103</sup> These axes were likely made in the colonies, although the store's networks for acquiring them from the manufacturers are unknown. Stuart sold felling axes, which, in the American form had a larger and heavier poll, which was the end of the axe head opposite the blade that could be used as a sledge or mallet.<sup>104</sup> The American felling axe also had a shorter blade than English and European forms, and a different weight and balance overall that added greater force, and therefore speed, to the process of felling trees.<sup>105</sup> The second type of axe sold at Stuart's store was a broad axe with a wide blade and much shorter handle "more than twice the size and weight of the felling axe."<sup>106</sup> It was typically wielded with two hands and used for hewing logs, or for log and timber construction. Although there are variations in the form of the broad axe in the eighteenth-century, Stuart's accounts do not offer any details or specifications about the shape of the blade or

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<sup>102</sup> Kulik, "American Difference Revisited," 35.

<sup>103</sup> Kulik, "American Difference Revisited," 27; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>104</sup> Paul B. Kebabian and Dudley Witney, *American Woodworking Tools* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1978), 37; Gary Kulik notes that the poll was unique to American axes as "most European blacksmiths made poll-less axes with relatively long blades." See Gary Kulik, "American Difference Revisited," 27; Paul B. Kebabian "Eighteenth-Century American Toolmaking," in *Eighteenth-Century Woodworking Tools*, ed. James M. Gaynor (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1994), 29.

<sup>105</sup> R.A. Salaman, *Dictionary of Woodworking Tools c. 1700-1970* (Newtown, CT: Taunton Press, 1990), 54-55; Kulik, "American Difference Revisited," 32.

<sup>106</sup> Bernie Weisgerber, *An Axe to Grind: A Practical Ax Manual* (Missoula, MT: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1999), 7-10; Mercer, *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*, 81.

handle. While other tools might be purchased seasonally, Stuart's accounts reveal that axes were used and purchased year-round in the Greenbrier Valley since cutting down trees and preparing logs was an ongoing task for Greenbrier's residents.<sup>107</sup>

In addition to axes, the Greenbrier store records also include implements used for more detailed woodworking, which were typically imported from Britain rather than made in the colonies, including items John Stuart sold at the Greenbrier store, such as awls, gimlets, chisels, bitts, and drawing knives.<sup>108</sup> Stuart also sold several types of saws, including a hand-saw, whip-saw, and tenant-saw, which were also shipped from England where manufacturers had the skilled laborers to correctly set the teeth of steel saw blades.<sup>109</sup> These saws were described in Joseph Moxon's seventeenth-century book discussing the "art of joinery."<sup>110</sup> The hand-saw and tenant-saw, also referred to as a

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<sup>107</sup> "Hoes," used to prepare the soil for planting and "Weeding Hoes, which had a blade that could be up to twelve inches wide and was used to cultivate crops, were almost always purchased between April and June at the Greenbrier store. See Judith A. McGaw, "'So Much Depends upon a Red Wheelbarrow': Agricultural Tool Ownership in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic," in *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850*, ed. Judith A. McGaw (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 353; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>108</sup> Carole Shammas notes that "wrought iron" items, which could include nails and tools, were one of the most important categories of commodities imported into the American colonies in 1768. See Carole Shammas, "How Self-Sufficient was Early America?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 13, no. 2 (Autumn 1982), 266; Kebabian "Eighteenth-Century American Toolmaking," 30; A drawing knife, also called "drawknives" in the eighteenth century, was a blade between two handles, which was used to make shingles, as well as shape, trim, or smooth pieces of wood, such as staves that were then hooped together to form a barrel. See "Drawknives and Spokeshaves," Online Resources, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, <http://www.history.org/Almanack/life/tools/tldra.cfm> (accessed 2 September 2017); Raymond R. Townsend, "Coopers," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series- 316 (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1963), <http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/View/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports%5CRR0316.xml> (accessed 2 September 2017).

<sup>109</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Kebabian and Witney, *American Woodworking Tools*, 48.

<sup>110</sup> Moxon was a seventeenth-century cartographer, printer, and creator of mathematical instruments; Joseph Moxon, *The Art of Joinery*, ed. Christopher Schwarz (Fort Mitchell, KY: Lost Art Press, 2013).

tenon saw, were “accommodated for a single Man’s use,” and the tenant-saw blade was in a frame to keep the blade straighter.<sup>111</sup> The whip-saw, which had handles at each end of the blade, required two men to use it, and Moxon explained that it was used “to saw such greater pieces of Stuff that the Hand-Saw will not easily reach through.”<sup>112</sup> The whip-saw, with a description of the saw teeth angled toward one handle, was a rip saw, which was used to make cuts parallel to the wood grain rather than against it and might have been used to craft planks for framing, floors or doors.<sup>113</sup>

Despite the absence of notations specifically identifying carpenters, coopers, or joiners, backcountry men were necessarily proficient in a variety of skills to survive and be successful in the Greenbrier Valley. When customer John Patton purchased sundry goods and one and a half yards of ribbon in 1771, he paid for the items “By Cooperworke” worth fifteen shillings.<sup>114</sup> In 1773, Samuel Williams settled a portion of his account at the store by “hooping Lindseys tub,” “making 1 Bedsted,” “covering a corn house,” and “making a Coffin,” revealing that at minimum he was a capable woodworker. Other customers purchased multiple tools at once, such as James Robinson’s drawing knife and chisel and James Jerrett’s drawing knife and handsaw, which perhaps were being used to construct a building or fence, or making repairs.<sup>115</sup>

Beyond tools, nails were another utilitarian item often purchased at John Stuart’s store and, like Caribbean rum, they were imported into the North American colonies in

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<sup>111</sup> Moxon, *The Art of Joinery*, 128; Salaman, *Dictionary of Woodworking Tools*, 434.

<sup>112</sup> Moxon, *The Art of Joinery*, 128.

<sup>113</sup> Moxon, *The Art of Joinery*, 70; Salaman, *Dictionary of Woodworking Tools*, 435.

<sup>114</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784.

<sup>115</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

abundance and by the cask.<sup>116</sup> Making nails required minimal skill, so an expert blacksmith in the American colonies would not have spent time producing a product with such little return.<sup>117</sup> Instead, colonists imported nails from England where there was already a well-established manufacturing trade in place that dispersed nails throughout the Atlantic World.<sup>118</sup> Nails were originally identified by their “pennyweight,” or the price in pennies for one hundred nails; however, by the eighteenth century, the reference was primarily a marker of a nail’s size rather than its cost.<sup>119</sup> At Stuart’s Greenbrier store, the most common nail was a ten-penny nail, which was roughly three inches long and useful for building construction, but he also sold tiny four-penny nails that measured only one and a half inches, as well as four-inch long twenty-penny nails.<sup>120</sup> When customers like Samuel Brown purchased nails in January, March, April, and August

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<sup>116</sup> James Blair also noted that nails were imported to Virginia in his comments in 1768. See Kebabian “Eighteenth-Century American Toolmaking,” 30.

<sup>117</sup> Thomas Jefferson’s nail manufactory at Monticello’s Mulberry Row is one of the best known in Virginia; however, the enslaved people who labored there were primarily boys between the ages of ten and sixteen, which reinforces the point that nail-making required minimal skill and was a task for children or beginning apprentices rather than a trained blacksmith. See Stephen B. Hodin, “The Mechanisms of Monticello: Saving Labor in Jefferson’s America,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 26, no. 3 (Fall 2006), 384.

<sup>118</sup> David Hey noted that by the mid-eighteenth century, nails were in such demand that it was no longer a part-time occupation for English farmers, but became a full time trade as nails were in demand throughout the Atlantic World. Between 1739 and 1742, nails from South Yorkshire, England, were sent to Virginia, Philadelphia, the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, and Newfoundland. See David Hey, “The Development of the English Toolmaking Industry during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Eighteenth-Century Woodworking Tools*, ed. James M. Gaynor (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1994), 15.

<sup>119</sup> Edward Allen, *Fundamentals of Building Construction: Materials and Methods*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999), 85.

<sup>120</sup> Ten-penny nails were typically sold at the Greenbrier store in quantities of fifty to 400, although there was a single purchase of 1200 nails. Blacksmiths would not have spent time making such a simple item as nails themselves, instead it was a task for a novice. Master Blacksmith Kenneth Schwarz at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation described the process of using eight-penny common nails for siding and roofing in the reconstruction of the Public Armoury in Colonial Williamsburg. See Kenneth Schwarz, “Making Nails for the Armoury,” *Making History: Inspiration for the Modern Revolutionary*, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, <http://makinghistorynow.com/2011/05/making-nails-for-the-armoury/> (accessed 2 September 2017).

1773, beginning with a purchase of 1200 nails, or William Renick purchased nearly 2000 nails during one trip to the store, it likely indicated they were completing a construction project of some sort or making improvements on their land claims.<sup>121</sup>

Knives were also sold at the Greenbrier stores and the “cuttoe knife” was the most common purchase.<sup>122</sup> Jim Mullins and Steve Rayner, of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, completed an extensive material culture study of “cuttoe knives,” which they described as “one of the most ubiquitous and yet mysterious” eighteenth-century items because although it was mentioned in store accounts, trade ledgers, newspaper advertisements, and court records, few concrete details survived in the documentary record.<sup>123</sup> “Cuttoe” was an Anglicization of the French word “couteau,” meaning knife, and Mullins and Rayner found that the eighteenth-century cuttoe knife was a folding clasp knife with a spring that was not unlike a modern Swiss Army knife though of a larger scale. Cuttoe knives were available in a variety of sizes with handles made of different materials and were popular trade items, perhaps because their smaller form and spring blade meant that they were less likely to be used as a weapon against settlers.

A final utilitarian category of items sold at John Stuart’s Greenbrier store related to horses and transportation. Wagon roads were not established in the Greenbrier Valley until the 1780s, so settlers traveled on foot or relied on travel by horse to move

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<sup>121</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>122</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>123</sup> Steve Rayner and Jim Mullins, “Cuttoe Knives Revealed,” *Of Sorts for Provincials*, <http://ofsortsforprovincials.blogspot.com/2013/03/cuttoe-knives-revealed.html> (accessed 6 September 2017).

throughout the region. Customers purchases of at least five saddles identified specifically as a “mans saddle,” two “saddles,” and one “pack saddle,” as well as several saddle cloths, eight pairs of bridle bitts and at least four bridles appear in entries in John Stuart’s records.<sup>124</sup> There were also several entries for “new shoes” for horses and, perhaps unsurprisingly, in early September 1774 as the men prepared for the expedition to Point Pleasant that became known as Lord Dunmore’s War, the store accounts include a flood of entries for “shoeing your horse,” with several similar entries in December of the same year shortly after their return from the expedition. What is surprising, however, is that a blacksmith or farrier is not noted with the entries for shoeing horses, and it is impossible to know who was shoeing horses in connection with the Greenbrier store.<sup>125</sup> Half a dozen references to “shoeing your horse” are also noted as taking place “at Staunton” and it is possible those settlers were in town for business or were packhorsemen hauling goods into the Greenbrier Valley; however, the identity of the individual with the task of shoeing the horses is again unknown. The entries for shoeing a horse or purchasing new shoes “at Staunton” do reveal that there was an ongoing connection between the store John Stuart managed in Greenbrier and Sampson and George Mathews’ store in Staunton and that some settlers regularly raveled between the Greenbrier Valley and Shenandoah Valley.

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<sup>124</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>125</sup> The single reference to anyone involved in shoeing horses is in Sampson and George Mathews’ account on September 25, 1772, which states “To pd a man for helping Neal shoe horse.” Even “Neal” himself is a mystery as the only Neal is a surname for a man named John; however, there is a John Neal, John O’Neal, and John McNeal in the store records. Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

Settling the Greenbrier Valley required practical tools for building the structures necessary to establish a home and complete improvements, then filling that home with items for daily life. Although John Stuart's store records reveal that many settlers maintained connections in the Shenandoah Valley and may have acquired goods or services there, the distance from both Staunton and the Botetourt County courthouse in Fincastle was prohibitive for many people. In spite of the challenges of physically reaching towns roughly 100 miles away, Greenbrier settlers still desired and acquired tools through a network that covered nearly 4,000 miles across the Atlantic Ocean to areas of England involved in manufacturing. Even as goods like axes may represent a blending of traditional forms with American modifications, they still represent the spread of technology and ideas throughout the Atlantic World, which contributed to the creation of the Greenbrier community and its development in the 1770s.

### **Dishwares and Utensils**

The Greenbrier stores also sold an assortment of household items, including five plates purchased by just two customers, one drinking glass, and a miscellaneous entry for "dishwares."<sup>126</sup> The scarcity of breakable household items is in stark contrast to John Hook's backcountry store in Bedford County, near present-day Lynchburg, Virginia, which sold an array of teapots, creamware, porcelain cups and saucers, wine glasses, and decanters.<sup>127</sup> The difference between Hook's inventory and that of the Greenbrier

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<sup>126</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>127</sup> Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 56, 4.

businesses is a reminder that although historians easily lump “backcountry” into a single shared experience, there are diverse geographies and experiences within the swath of territory included in the “backcountry.”

In the Greenbrier Valley, the physical geography in the form of mountain ranges separated the region from the eastern portions of Virginia and certainly influenced the type of fragile and breakable goods the Greenbrier stores acquired. In Bedford County, Hook’s store was along main thoroughfares in the Piedmont region of Virginia while the Greenbrier stores were beyond the Eastern Continental Divide in an area that was only reached on foot or by horseback until the first wagon road crossed the mountains after the American Revolution. In addition, the Greenbrier stores’ primarily male clientele may have meant that dishwares and utensils were not popular items either for Read and Stuart to stock, or for customers to purchase.

Although breakable items were absent from the Greenbrier stores, the presence of knives and forks puts Greenbrier settlers’ into conversations about dining etiquette and trends in eighteenth-century Virginia. Prior to the 1720s, many colonists ate with their hands while a spoon might have been used to scoop from a common bowl and a knife to cut and skewer meat.<sup>128</sup> Forks gained popularity in the 1720s and were paired with a knife to hold food in place while the knife was used for cutting as part of what Richard Bushman described as the “growing spirit of refinement” in the eighteenth century, although Bushman notes that there was tremendous variation in this practice depending

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<sup>128</sup> Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 75-76.



on social status and regional customs.<sup>129</sup> Only sixteen percent of Virginians owned knives and forks in 1720, but in 1774, nearly seventy-one percent had knives and forks among their household possessions compared to only fifty-two percent in Massachusetts.<sup>130</sup> Barbara Carson argued that the high percentage in Virginia may signify Virginians emphasis on style and Susan Kern notes that dining culture had a long history, even in the backcountry.<sup>131</sup> Writing about the Jefferson family at their home, Shadwell, in the mid-eighteenth century Virginia Piedmont, Kern described their dinner table displayed with knives, and forks, in addition to spoons, napkins, teawares, and a variety of fine dishwares.<sup>132</sup> Although the Jefferson's were among the elites of Virginia, Ann Smart Martin found that revolutionary era residents of Bedford County compared favorably to eastern settlers in their ownership of knives and forks and indicated "that some improved standards of eating had become commonplace."<sup>133</sup>

In the Greenbrier Valley in the early 1770s, more than twelve customers bought knives and forks, and most bought sets of a half-dozen or dozen at a time, with only one

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<sup>129</sup> American metalworkers made spoons, but they made few knives and forks. Instead, these utensils were manufactured in the same English towns of Sheffield and Birmingham where tools and nails were produced. See Barbara Carson, *Ambitious Appetites: Dining, Behavior, and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington* (Washington, D.C.: The American Institute of Architects Press, 1990), 64; Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969), 179.

<sup>130</sup> Only fifty-two percent of Massachusetts households surveyed had knives and forks. See Carole Shammas "The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America," *Journal of Social History* 14, no. 1 (Autumn 1980), 12.

<sup>131</sup> Carson, *Ambitious Appetites*, 182; Susan Kern, *The Jeffersons at Shadwell* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 30-31.

<sup>132</sup> Kern, *The Jeffersons at Shadwell*, 30-31.

<sup>133</sup> Martin, *Buying in to the World of Goods*, 124.

customer purchasing “nives” alone.<sup>134</sup> Although the presence of forks in the store records does not conclusively reveal the extent of fork usage in the region, the presence of these forks and knives, although only purchased by a small percentage of the overall population, offers several threads of insight. The presence of forks and knives is a reminder that Greenbrier settlers were also Virginians and participated in the cultural changes that occurred throughout the eighteenth century, despite the hardships of living on the western edge of Virginia’s settlement. With most of Virginia’s population owning knives and forks in 1774, it may mean that Greenbrier settlers already owned the utensils and brought them with them, or that they purchased these items elsewhere. In contrast, the small percentage of total customers who purchased knives and forks at the Greenbrier stores may reveal that older patterns of eating with fingers, spoon, or knife prevailed in this region of the Virginia backcountry.

### **Grocery Items**

Although both Greenbrier stores sold many similar items, for unknown reasons, consumable grocery items were only sold by John Stuart. Greenbrier settlers grew crops and hunted to provide the majority of their foods, so purchased food items were primarily grocery staples such as salt, sugar, and spices, with a few purchases of tea, coffee, or chocolate. With a few exceptions, food items were sold at the store for approximately eighteen months between August 1772 and March 1773 when the Greenbrier Valley and

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<sup>134</sup> There is an additional entry for “1 knife,” but given the prevalence of cuttue knives, this item may fall into the category of a backcountry man’s toolkit rather than dining. In contrast, most cuttue knives were bought individually, so the entry for “5 nives” stands out and may refer to dining.

Virginia backcountry were in a period of relative peace and colonists had easier access to imported goods.

Salt was by far the most common purchase at John Stuart's Greenbrier store, whether by quart, peck, bushel, or sack.<sup>135</sup> Salt was a food preservative for meat and within a few years, in the midst of the American Revolution, salt shortages were of great concern to backcountry settlers and militia leaders often expressed their need for salt alongside requests for powder and lead. Although there were salt licks throughout the Kanawha and Ohio Valleys to the west of Greenbrier and a salt trade that began in the late-eighteenth century, during the revolutionary era, settlers were underutilizing these resources and bringing salt into the Greenbrier Valley from the east.<sup>136</sup>

As backcountry militias traveled across present-day West Virginia on an expedition against the Shawnees in 1774, letters often referenced various salt licks or salt springs as landmarks and meeting places.<sup>137</sup> One man even stated that a salt spring "would afford a very good salt work;" however, no efforts were made to establish a salt work prior to the American Revolution because importing salt was still more economical.<sup>138</sup> In 1776, when John Stuart wrote to Botetourt County Lieutenant William Fleming explaining that the militiamen were without salt, "which is a presious article

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<sup>135</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>136</sup> John E. Stealey, *The Antebellum Kanawha Salt Business and Western Markets* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 8-9; John A. Jakle, "Salt on the Ohio Valley Frontier, 1770-1820," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59, no. 4 (December 1969), 688-689.

<sup>137</sup> Hanson's Journal, April 7-August 9 in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, eds. Reuben Thwaites and Louise Kellog (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 122.

<sup>138</sup> Hanson's Journal, *Documentary History*, 122; Larry G. Bowman, "The Scarcity of Salt in Virginia during the American Revolution," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 77, no. 4 (Oct. 1969), 464.

here,” he noted that he had furnished the men with salt from his personal supply and hoped that the colony would repay him in the form of salt.<sup>139</sup>

Sugar, spices, coffee, and chocolate were also purchased from the Greenbrier store, though in much smaller quantities compared to salt. In the eighteenth century, sugar was sold in cone-shaped “loaves” imported from the West Indies, and most of the store entries were for loaf sugar.<sup>140</sup> Among the entries for spices were pepper, allspice, ginger, cinnamon, and nutmeg. These ingredients were typically sold in one ounce measurements; however, nutmeg was also sold whole by the nut. Coffee and chocolate were each referenced only once in Stuart’s store records, but the accounts do not offer any insights into their origins.

Given the emphasis on tea in the traditional narrative of the American Revolution, it is striking that there were only three purchases of tea in John Stuart’s records for the Greenbrier store. These purchases were within roughly seven months of each other, with John Anderson purchasing “Bohia Tea” alongside his purchase of coffee and chocolate in October 1772, and William Ellums and James Knox purchasing tea in March and May 1773 respectively. Bohea, along with green tea, was the most popular type of tea in the American colonies beginning in the 1740s, but by the late 1760s, in the midst of nonimportation after the Townshend Acts, broadsides asked women to patriotically

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<sup>139</sup> John Stuart to William Fleming, 3 September 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, eds. Reuben Thwaites and Louise Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 194.

<sup>140</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Lorena S. Walsh, Ann Smart Martin, and Joanne Bowen, “Provisioning Early American Towns. The Chesapeake: A Multidisciplinary Case Study (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1990), 105.

“throw aside your Bohea.”<sup>141</sup> Beginning in 1770, American colonists again purchased tea with reports that “The consumption of Bohea tea thro’ the Continent increases every year. It is difficult for us to say how great it is at present.”<sup>142</sup> Tea drinking in the American colonies was short-lived; however, as Parliament passed the Tea Act in May 1773, roughly two weeks before James Knox made the third and final purchase of tea from the Greenbrier store, and tea was again an object of resistance in the American colonies.

Historians have argued that tea brought about a new phase of unity among American colonists in the revolutionary era; however, the Greenbrier Valley does not fit into this argument since teawares, which would have been among the breakable items absent from the Greenbrier stores, and tea itself are almost completely absent from the records. According to T.H. Breen, tea was part of almost every colonial household and was vital to the development of a consumer society and American’s growing unity prior to the American Revolution because the wealthiest merchants and poorest laborers alike consumed the beverage.<sup>143</sup>

Despite Breen’s sweeping statement about the importance of tea, it had a minimal presence in other regions of the Virginia backcountry as well, including at John Hook’s store in Bedford County where coffee was significantly more popular than tea.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Jane T. Merritt, “Tea Trade, Consumption, and the Republican Paradox in Prerevolutionary Philadelphia,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 128, no. 2 (April 2004), 127; “An Address to the Ladies,” *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, Dec. 3, 1767, quoted in Merritt, “Tea Trade, Consumption, and the Republican Paradox in Prerevolutionary Philadelphia,” 138.

<sup>142</sup> Francis S. Drake, *Tea Leaves: Being a Collection of Letters and Documents relating to shipment of Tea to the American Colonies in the year 1773 by the East India Tea Company* (Boston: A.O. Crain, 1884), 192.

<sup>143</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 305.

<sup>144</sup> Ann Smart Martin, “Buying into the World of Goods: Eighteenth-Century Consumerism and the Retail Trade from London to the Virginia Frontier” (PhD diss., College of William and Mary, 1993), 286.

Although Hook stocked many breakable dishwares that were absent from Greenbrier store inventories, there were few teawares in Bedford County households, which Ann Smart Martin argued demonstrated a shocking rejection of tea in the Virginia backcountry compared to Virginia's eastern counties.<sup>145</sup> While a cross-section of Virginia residents, particularly those who lived in urban areas, owned the items necessary for making and drinking tea, Lorena S. Walsh, Ann Smart Martin, and Joanne Bowen argue that rum was still the beverage of choice for most Virginians.<sup>146</sup> The popularity of rum instead of tea is corroborated in the Greenbrier Valley through purchases at John Stuart's store where rum was one of the most common purchases and consumed at the store-tavern. Although tea could have been sold elsewhere in the Greenbrier Valley, the three entries for tea imply that that it was available to Stuart's customers if they wanted to purchase it. The lack of tea in Greenbrier must be seen as a disinterest in the beverage rather than a symbol rejection for patriotism, which upends broad arguments about the pervasiveness of tea in colonial America and its use as a political statement.

### **Fabric and Clothing**

Clothing had a duality of purpose in eighteenth-century Virginia. First and foremost, clothing was necessary to cover the body and protect it from the elements, but clothing also conveyed meaning about an individual's status and identity. In the Greenbrier Valley, Matthew Read and John Stuart's customers purchased yards of

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<sup>145</sup> Martin, "Buying into the World of Goods" (PhD diss.), 286.

<sup>146</sup> Walsh, Martin, and Bowen, "Provisioning Early American Towns," 110.

approximately twenty different types of textiles, along with buttons, twist, ribbon and thread, and the needles, pins, thimbles, and scissors required to construct garments, as well as some finished clothing items.<sup>147</sup> In the eighteenth century, there was a clear division between the makers of men and women's clothing and in addition to fabric and sewing notions, John Stuart's store records included an account for "Taylor Business," which furthers perspective on the Greenbrier stores as primarily male spaces. The tailor business account spanned just a few months from August 26, 1773 through December 13, 1773; however, two customers, John Rogers and John Evans, were identified as "taylor" in the store records with accounts beyond those dates. While a connection between Rogers and Evans and the "Taylor Business," or any formal business agreements between Rogers, Evans and Stuart is unknown, John Rogers did receive payment for "making 1 suit clothes" in December 1772.

In the eighteenth century, most men and women's clothing was constructed by completely separate occupations trained in discrete sets of skills. Men's suits and garments emphasized the cut of the cloth, and tailors learned to measure, cut, and construct suits of clothing that closely fitted the body.<sup>148</sup> In contrast, most women's clothing focused on draping fabric and women called on a mantuamaker or seamstress who specialized in the structure of their gowns.<sup>149</sup> An exception to this separation was in

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<sup>147</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>148</sup> Katherine Egner Gruber, "'By Measures Taken of Men: ' Clothing the Classes in William Carlin's Alexandria, 1763-1782,'" *Early American Studies* 13, no. 4 (Fall 2015), 934; Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 88.

<sup>149</sup> Although tailors made both men's and women's garments in the seventeenth century, mantuamakers became more prominent through the eighteenth century and ultimately replaced tailors as the producers of

the construction of riding habits for women, which had a structured suit-like jacket and were, therefore, often made by a tailor who had the necessary skills to precisely fit the garment.<sup>150</sup> While tailors, mantuamakers, and seamstresses oversaw clothing production, milliners, and stores like Matthew Read and John Stuart's businesses, offered finished clothing and accessories, such as ruffles, hats, and trim, to eighteenth-century Virginians.<sup>151</sup>

While making suits of clothes and gowns required specific training and skill, everyday garments, underclothes, and baby items were often made in the home, as well as knitted items like stockings and gloves, which could be stocked by a milliner, but were likely made by backcountry women themselves out of necessity.<sup>152</sup> Items like drawers, shifts, shirts, and quilted petticoats, had simpler lines and a loose fit, so they were more forgiving garments to construct and did not require extensive fitting or draping.<sup>153</sup> In the backcountry and among working women throughout the American colonies, women likely wore a short gown, which was a hip-length jacket that tied or pinned in the front, along with a petticoat made in a matching or contrasting fabric.<sup>154</sup> Men's everyday clothing might consist of a shirt and trousers that fit more like modern-day pants and

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women's outer garments. For a discussion of this process and the reasons why women of all statuses increasingly employed specialists to make their outer garments, see John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 155-161.

<sup>150</sup> "tailor, n.1". OED Online. January 2018. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/197091?rskey=rRs3Ao&result=1> (accessed January 27, 2018).

<sup>151</sup> Marla R. Miller, *The Needle's Eye: Women and Work in the Age of Revolution* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 136.

<sup>152</sup> Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 88-89.

<sup>153</sup> Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 84; Sharon Ann Burnston, *Fitting & Proper: 18<sup>th</sup> Century Clothing from the Collection of the Chester County Historical Society* (Texarkana, TX: Scurlock Publishing Co., 1998), 44-49.

<sup>154</sup> Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 118; Burnston, *Fitting & Proper*, 20-31.



were made of sturdy inexpensive linen, cotton, or wool, or breeches made of a similar fabric or leather.<sup>155</sup>

Understanding the quantity of fabric needed to make specific garments provides greater insight into the more formal attire of some of the Greenbrier Valley's male settlers as a man's "somber-colored ensemble made of excellent-quality British woolen cloth" was a statement of his stability, competence, and status.<sup>156</sup> In 1768, "Tailor and Habit-Maker," Jonathan Prosser advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* that he had "lately studied a peculiar method of cutting cloaths out to a considerable advantage" and offered the yardage necessary to complete various types of garments.<sup>157</sup> These measurements, when combined with fabric purchases at the Greenbrier stores, offer some sense of the items they were intended to make. Prosser explained that a suit of Wilton cloth, which was a woolen fabric made in Wilton, England, would require six and a half yards of fabric and in September 1772, Daniel Workman purchased an array of fabrics and trim that included more than seven yards of Wilton cloth.<sup>158</sup> Prosser described the need for ten yards of sagathy, which was a wool and cotton twill fabric, to make a full-sized suit, and although the exact yardage used is unknown, Stuart's records identify a payment of twelve shillings and five pence from John Stevens for "the Remainder of a suit of Sagathy Clothes."<sup>159</sup> Broadcloth, a sturdy wool fabric that was woven on a wide, or

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<sup>155</sup> Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 125-126.

<sup>156</sup> Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 56-57.

<sup>157</sup> Jonathan Prosser, "Advertisement," July 21, 1768, *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 3; Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 374-375.

<sup>158</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 374-375.

<sup>159</sup> Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 337.

broad, loom and measured fifty-four to sixty-three inches was another textile often used for suits, such as one worn by George Washington at his inauguration, but it was also used for less formal items.<sup>160</sup> Beyond these entries, there are few notes about the type of fabric used for finished garments in the store records and most entries simply state “making” clothes, a jacket, shirt, or coat, without identifying the type of fabric or specifics about the garment.

While Wilton cloth, sagathy, and broadcloth were used for suits of clothing and jackets, Buckram was a “coarse cloth made of hemp” that was used to line garments that needed to keep their form, and as covers and wrappings for more fragile cloth or merchandise.<sup>161</sup> Buckram, for its use as a lining material, was purchased by a number of men making large purchases of fabric and trim, who were, perhaps, outfitting themselves with a new wardrobe. Purchases of buckram were often alongside purchases of shalloon, which was a “cheap twilled worsted” fabric used to line waistcoats and breeches.<sup>162</sup> For example, in addition to Daniel Workman’s yardage of Wilton cloth in 1772, he purchased buckram, shalloon, linen, binding, thread, and both coat and jacket buttons.<sup>163</sup> Brothers Francis, known as Frank, and William Boggs each purchased a lengthy list of fabrics including broadcloth, buckram, shalloon, stockings, leggings, various thread, twist, jacket and coat buttons, on January 13, 1773. The reason for the brothers’ purchases is unknown; however, according to Francis’ pension record after the American Revolution,

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<sup>160</sup> George Washington ordered a suit of broadcloth for his inauguration and Martha Washington had “powder smoke” riding habit made of broadcloth. See Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 177-179.

<sup>161</sup> Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 181.

<sup>162</sup> Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 346-347.

<sup>163</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

he was nineteen years old in 1773, so perhaps the clothing was for a special occasion like a wedding or some other marker of adulthood.<sup>164</sup>

Although many fabrics and nearly all of the clothing items purchased at the Greenbrier stores were for a male clientele, a close examination of the store records reveals that purchases for women and by women are also evident among the entries for fabric and sewing notions, including knitting needles, papers of pins, buttons, ribbon, and fine thread. Among the purchases of check fabric at Matthew Read's store were nearly half a dozen entries for apron check purchased in one or two yard measurements which was the ideal quantity for an apron.<sup>165</sup> Dozens of hats were purchased at both Greenbrier stores, but there was only a single entry for a woman's bonnet, as well as one purchase of women's shoes at the Greenbrier store and another pair purchased in Staunton and charged to a customer's Greenbrier account.

One particularly unique women's item sold at John Stuart's store was "1 pr sleeve ruffs" in the fall of 1771.<sup>166</sup> "Sleeve ruffs" referred to the detachable ruffles women fastened to the sleeves of their gowns, which were, as Linda Baumgarten discussed, an example of the "beautiful but nonfunctional trimmings" that expressed a woman's status.<sup>167</sup> Sleeve ruffles in particular were a ready-made millinery item often "made of expensive, difficult-to-maintain lace or fine white embroidery." The combination of their placement on the sleeve at the elbows as well as their delicate material made it extremely

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<sup>164</sup> Francis Boggs, Pension Record R985, Transcribed by Betty Renick, SCRWPS.

<sup>165</sup> Ellen J. Gehret, *Rural Pennsylvania Clothing: Being a Study of the Wearing Apparel of the German and English Inhabitants...* (York, PA: Liberty Cap Books, 1976), 56-63.

<sup>166</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784.

<sup>167</sup> Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 113-114.

unrealistic for women doing physical labor to wear them.<sup>168</sup> By the 1770s, sleeve ruffles were falling out of fashion after two decades of popularity, so while life in the Greenbrier Valley would make wearing sleeve ruffles rather impractical, the absence of any other entries for ruffles could be a result of a change in fashion trends rather than a lack of accessibility.<sup>169</sup>

While purchases of apron check, ruffles, or a woman's hat and shoes specifically demonstrates the presence of women in the Greenbrier Valley, women also physically visited the store and purchased fabrics and sewing notions. Women who had their own accounts at the store often had entries for fabrics and sewing notions and many notations in the margins of men's accounts identify their wife as the customer who physically came to the store to make a purchase. The references to women and customer's locations in the margins of the records reveal both women's interactions at the store and speak to their movement throughout the Greenbrier Valley. Based on notations identifying customer's locations, women at Stuart's store traveled as much as ten miles to make their selections, and they were not always traveling with their husbands since the accounts explicitly identify the wife making a purchase. Although it would be easy to assume that Greenbrier's women were sequestered in their homes because of the isolating nature of the mountainous terrain and nearly constant concerns about Indian attacks, it is evident from their purchases that women also traveled throughout the Greenbrier Valley.

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<sup>168</sup> Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 113-114.

<sup>169</sup> Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 114, 219.

## **The Backcountry Man's Uniform**

Although both Greenbrier businesses offered a variety of textiles and sewing notions popular throughout Virginia and the American colonies, the stores – particularly John Stuart's store, which was in business for more than a decade rather than just six months, as was Matthew Read's store – also sold clothing items that were unique to backcountry life and the specific needs and wants of customers living on the colony's western frontier during the revolutionary era.

The most commonly purchased textile in John Stuart's records, and one that was completely absent from Matthew Read's store, was osnaburg, which was used to make sacks and bags, or shirts and trousers; however, it was especially popular in the Virginia backcountry for use in hunting shirts, which had become the backcountry man's uniform by the American Revolution.<sup>170</sup> Hunting shirts could be made out of a variety of inexpensive linen textiles, but osnaburg, which was a medium weight unbleached linen cloth named after Osnabrück, Germany, was a popular choice, and Stuart's Greenbrier store records reference osnaburg in more than 160 entries.<sup>171</sup> While some fabrics, like broadcloth or buckram, were purchased from the Greenbrier stores alongside other textiles and trims necessary for making suits of clothes, osnaburg was often purchased

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<sup>170</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 81-82; Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870*, 312; When the Second Virginia Convention passed a resolution to place the colony in a state of military preparedness in 1775, they established the hunting shirt as the uniform for Virginia's soldiers which became "a symbolic garment not only for American liberty, but a garment worn in outward defiance against the Crown." Sales at John Stuart's store were already in decline, likely in part a result of Stuart's involvement in war efforts and regional defense, so there is no way to connect osnaburg or hunting shirt sales in Greenbrier to the new Virginia uniform. See Neal Thomas Hurst, "'kind of armour, being peculiar to America:' The American Hunting Shirt" (Honor's thesis, College of William and Mary, 2013), 18.

<sup>171</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

alongside blankets, leggings, garters, or powder and lead, which highlighted its use for hunting shirts.

Hunting shirts were regional clothing items first identified in Augusta County, which originally included the Greenbrier Valley, in 1759 (see Figure 33).<sup>172</sup> Neal Hurst, Associate Curator of Costume and Textile at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, explained that osnaburg's availability, low cost, and sturdiness made it the most desirable fabric for hunting shirts.<sup>173</sup> When Joseph Doddridge recounted his experiences growing up in western Virginia and Pennsylvania, he wrote that "the hunting shirt was universally worn" and described the garment as "a kind of loose frock, reaching half way down the thighs, with large sleeves, open before, and so wide as to lap over a foot or more when belted."<sup>174</sup> The open front of the shirt was typically tucked across the body and belted, where it created make-shift pockets that could carry everything from food to the items needed to care for a weapon. The shirt also had a cape across the shoulders, which was "sometimes handsomely fringed with a raveled piece of cloth."<sup>175</sup>

Paired with the iconic backcountry hunting shirt, leggings were the most common finished garment sold at either Greenbrier store with over 100 pairs of leggings purchased between 1771 and early 1774. In the eighteenth century, men's breeches stopped just below the knee and knitted stockings covered the calf and foot, but these items were woefully inadequate for traversing the terrain of the Appalachian Mountains. Traveling

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<sup>172</sup> Hurst. "kind of armour, being peculiar to America," 9, 14.

<sup>173</sup> Hurst. "kind of armour, being peculiar to America," 47.

<sup>174</sup> Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars*, 91.

<sup>175</sup> Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars*, 91.

through the backcountry, J.F.D. Smyth described leggings as “a great defence and preservative, not only against the bite of serpents and poisonous insects, but likewise against the scratches of thorns, briars, scrubby bushes, and underwood, with which this whole country is infested and overspread.”<sup>176</sup> Another traveler, Nicholas Cresswell, explained that he eventually left his boots and spurs behind as he “must wear leggings,” which were worn by “people that travel much in the Woods” and prevented rattlesnakes from biting them.<sup>177</sup>

Leggings were made of a coarse woolen fabric that wrapped loosely around the calf and part of the thigh and was secured with garters or laces.<sup>178</sup> The *Virginia Gazette* referenced blue wool leggings, and blue cloth was a popular trade item among Native Americans, so it was often available in frontier regions. Neither Greenbrier store specified the color or materials used for the dozens of pairs of leggings they sold and most entries simply stated “1 pair leggings,” often spelled leggons, lagon, or ledgons (see Figure 34).<sup>179</sup> Although fabric type is not listed with purchases of leggings at either Greenbrier store, on October 5, 1772, there were purchases by customers Peter Shoemaker and James Campbell for “½ of 1 Blankett” each and Campbell’s purchase included an additional note that the purchase was “for leggings.” Blankets were made from coarse woolen cloth, like the fabric typically used for leggings, but blankets and

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<sup>176</sup> J.F.D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. 1 (Dublin: G. Perrin, 1784), 115-116.

<sup>177</sup> Nicholas Cresswell, 4 June 1776, *The Journals of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777* (New York: The Dial Press, 1924), 145.

<sup>178</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. 1, 115-116.

<sup>179</sup> Jim Mullins, “Breechclouts and Leggings the Low Budget DIY Plan,” *Of Sorts for Provincials*, <http://ofsortsforprovincials.blogspot.com/2011/03/breechclouts-and-leggings-low-budget.html> (accessed 10 September 2017).

leggings are often sold as separate items in the same entry, so the practice of slicing a blanket in half to be used for leggings evidently was not a common practice at Stuart's Greenbrier store.

Although backcountry men commonly wore leggings, the garments worn with them varied by the individual. Both Greenbrier stores sold a few pairs of breeches with some identified specifically as "buckskin britches," which were leather breeches most often made of deerskins, although they could be made of many types of animal skins, including sheep, goat, calf, lamb, and beaver.<sup>180</sup> Buckskin or leather breeches were often made from summer, also known as "red," deerskins because they resulted in a better quality product.<sup>181</sup> Skins used for leather breeches were dehaired and then processed into a product that had a suede finish, but were malleable, light, porous, and sturdy.<sup>182</sup> The durability of leather breeches meant that they were practical and worn by men across the social classes in Virginia, resulting in their description as "the blue jeans of the eighteenth century."<sup>183</sup> Many pairs of leather and buckskin breeches were produced in the American colonies, but they were also produced in London and imported, though the skins used to make them may have originated in the American colonies. Other entries for breeches at the Greenbrier store did not specify their material and were likely made of linen, wool, or cotton textiles.

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<sup>180</sup> Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 88-89; Postlethwayt, entry for "Leather Breeches Maker," *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, vol. 2, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (London, 1774).

<sup>181</sup> Hurst, "kind of armour, being peculiar to America," 4.

<sup>182</sup> Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 88.

<sup>183</sup> Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 125.



In addition to breeches of various materials, many backcountry men adopted breechclouts after seeing them worn by Native Americans. There were five purchases of “brich clouts” in John Stuart’s store records (see Figures 32 and 34).<sup>184</sup> Breechclouts were fundamentally a strip of fabric belted at the waist, so while the entries in the records may represent a manufactured item with a belt, it could also simply be a reference to a preferred type of fabric cut into the appropriate length. Describing breechclouts worn by Shawnee men in 1774, Nicholas Cresswell wrote that the Native American men were “in white men’s dress, except breeches which they refuse to wear, instead of which they have a girdle round them with a piece of cloth drawn through their legs and turned over the girdle, and appears like a short apron before and behind.”<sup>185</sup> Joseph Doddridge provided a similar description, noting that young backcountry men “became more enamored of the Indian dress” and adopted the breechclout, which was “a piece of linen or cloth nearly a yard long, and eight or nine inches broad. This passed under the belt before and behind leaving the ends for flaps hanging before and behind over the belt.”<sup>186</sup>

The result of wearing a hunting shirt, breechclout, and leggings was that “the upper part of the thighs and part of the hips were naked;” however, Joseph Doddridge remembered that the young men, “instead of being abashed by this nudity” were “proud of [their] Indianlike dress.”<sup>187</sup> Just six months after his description of the Shawnee chiefs, Nicholas Cresswell, traveling along the Kentucky River with a company of

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<sup>184</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782.

<sup>185</sup> Cresswell, 7 December 1774, *The Journals of Nicholas Cresswell*, 49-50.

<sup>186</sup> Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars*, 92.

<sup>187</sup> Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars*, 141-142.

backcountry men, wrote, “I believe there is but two pair of Breeches in the company, one belonging to Mr. Tilling and the other to myself. The rest wear breechclouts, leggings and hunting shirts, which have never been washed only by the rain since they were made.”<sup>188</sup> Backcountry settler Henry Wilson described a regiment of two hundred men “mostly dressed in hunting shirts & breech clouts, some linen & others buckskin” when he recounted an expedition against the Shawnees late in the American Revolution.<sup>189</sup>

At John Stuart’s Greenbrier store, the five purchases of “brich clout,” in addition to the purchases of osnaburg and leggings, connect the Greenbrier Valley to a wider backcountry experience, as well as exchange across the Atlantic. Four of the purchases were during the summer of 1774 as the men prepared for the expedition against the Shawnees at Point Pleasant, supporting the descriptions from Nicholas Cresswell and Henry Wilson of backcountry men adopting an Indian style of dress during military or militia activities. Among the names for those four purchases, Robert McClenachan’s name stands out as he was a captain of one of the Greenbrier Companies at the Battle of Point Pleasant and died in the battle.<sup>190</sup> James Pauley made the single purchase of a breechclout outside of the summer of 1774, which he purchased in 1772 along with other backcountry man’s staples like a blanket and cuttote knife in addition to several pieces of fabric.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Cresswell, 10 June 1775, *The Journals of Nicholas Cresswell*, 83-84.

<sup>189</sup> Wilson described the expedition that resulted in the Battle of Piqua in August 1780; See Henry Wilson, “The Account of the Campaign against the Shawnee Indians,” in *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781, Virginia Series, Volume III* (Springfield, IL: Illinois State Historical Library, 1912), 476.

<sup>190</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 11 November, 1774, 2.

<sup>191</sup> James Pauley is written as “Pally” in the Greenbrier records; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; The entry for Pauley actually states “1 Brich Clout more,” but there are no other purchases for him that are identified as a breechclout (see Figure 32). Since breechclouts were often made of a rectangle of wool that

Beyond the clothing items worn by backcountry men, and the use of a blanket to make leggings, blankets were necessary items for militiamen and hunters and popular trade items in the eighteenth century. Blankets were identified either as “blanket” or “duffle blanket” in John Stuart’s records, and the store sold approximately fifty during the 1770s, while there were only four purchases of blankets by two customers at Matthew Read’s store. While the words blanket and “duffle” may have been used interchangeably in the store accounts, a “duffel” was a term used in Indian trade in the eighteenth-century and its use in Greenbrier stands out since the records do not document any trade with Native Americans.<sup>192</sup> Duffels were a coarse woolen textile originally produced in Belgium and woven in white, blue, red, or stripes. Duffel blankets and overcoats made of the cloth were valuable winter clothing items, and were on nearly every list of trade goods.<sup>193</sup> While blankets were sold fairly consistently each year between 1771 and 1775, there was an increase in blanket sales in preparation for mobilization of the militias through the summer and early fall of 1774 as the men prepared for an expedition to the Ohio.

The backcountry man’s uniform of hunting shirt, breeches or breechclout, and leggings was in stark contrast to carefully tailored men’s suits signifying stability, business competence, and status; however, it had an equally powerful meaning to those who saw it. The hunting shirt had been part of the backcountry militiaman’s ensemble

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might be lined with cotton or linen, it is possible that some of the other textiles Pauley purchased were used to fashion a breechclout.

<sup>192</sup> Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 122.

<sup>193</sup> Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 228; Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 122.

since the French and Indian War, and was identified by Native Americans as a symbol of the militia.<sup>194</sup> During the American Revolution, George Washington, who advocated for the use of leggings in the French and Indian War, recommended that officers “provide Indian Boots, or Leggings, for their men, instead of stockings; as they are not only warmer, and wear longer, but (by getting them of a colour) contribute to uniformity in dress.”<sup>195</sup> Washington also requested “not less than 10,000” hunting shirts for the twofold purpose of providing garments to men “very deficient in necessary Cloathing” and simultaneously removing “those Provincial Distinctions which lead to Jealousy & Dissatisfaction” by uniting the men under a single uniform.<sup>196</sup> As hunting shirts and leggings became the uniform of the American soldier, this style of clothing, originating in Virginia’s western settlements, became a symbol of independence and rebellion against Britain.

While understanding the Greenbrier Valley community during the revolutionary era is often about making connections between Greenbrier society and consumption practices in the American colonies and the wider Atlantic World, the adoption of the backcountry settlers’ style of dress by the American military is a reversal of this pattern. As the Continental soldier from Massachusetts wore a hunting shirt or leggings, he was

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<sup>194</sup> Elizabeth A. Perkins, “Distinctions and Partitions amongst Us: Identity and Interaction in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley,” in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*, ed. Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 213.

<sup>195</sup> “General Orders, 7 August 1775,” *The Papers of George Washington, 16 June 1775–15 September 1775*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 1, ed. Philander D. Chase (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985), 260-261.

<sup>196</sup> “II. Letter Sent, 10–11 July 1775,” *The Papers of George Washington, 16 June 1775–15 September 1775*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 1, ed. Philander D. Chase (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985), 85-97.

embracing a style of military dress that was already firmly part of Greenbrier society and, therefore, the military uniform that was considered uniquely “American” actually brought the Greenbrier Valley onto the mental map of eastern colonists in a tangible way as a piece of backcountry identity became part of an American identity.

### **Reading and Religion**

In addition, the Greenbrier businesses offer a glimpse into settlers’ reading preferences during the revolutionary era. Colonial Americans “had much to occupy their minds and small inclination to read” works beyond the Bible, a few religious texts and practical works, almanacs, and the occasional newspaper, and the reading materials sold at both Greenbrier stores fit within these categories.<sup>197</sup> Despite more than a decade in business, books and paper goods were sold at the store run by John Stuart only during the years prior to the American Revolution – from 1771 through the first half of 1775. The books and reading materials included spelling books, almanacs, more than a dozen entries simply for “book,” and only a half-dozen specific titles. Matthew Read’s store sold seven books and as many almanacs during its six months of business in the Greenbrier Valley between October 1773 and April 1774. While the records describing the purchase of reading materials often generically describe a “book,” the few titles that are included offer fascinating insights into the topics that interested Greenbrier’s settlers and the

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<sup>197</sup> Patrick M. Valentine, “Libraries and Print Culture in Early North Carolina,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 82, no. 3 (July 2005), 296-297.

ideology that might have influenced Greenbrier society and identity, especially on the eve of the American Revolution.

In eighteenth-century Virginia, newspapers and almanacs were a distinct and popular print culture. While neither Greenbrier store recorded selling copies of the *Virginia Gazette*, almanacs, probably referring to the *Virginia Almanack* printed in Williamsburg, Virginia, were a popular purchase. The *Virginia Almanack* was first printed by William Parks, who established the first press in Williamsburg in 1730 and began printing the *Virginia Gazette* six years later.<sup>198</sup> Through the 1750s and 1760s, the press changed ownership several times, but the *Virginia Almanack* continued to be one of the top-selling items with the largest circulation of any locally printed works in the mid-1760s. By the early 1770s, there were two competing print shops in Williamsburg, with one run by William Rind and the other by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon, that produced different editions of both the *Virginia Gazette* and *Virginia Almanack*.

Almanacs were widely read in colonial America, and often reached people who may not have had access to, or been inclined to seek out, other printed materials, as they included practical information along with rather lighthearted anecdotes and poetry.<sup>199</sup> John Stuart's Greenbrier store sold dozens of Almanacs between December 1771 and April 1774, and Matthew Read's store sold seven in just a few months, but unfortunately

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<sup>198</sup> Cynthia Z. Stiverson and Gregory A. Stiverson, "The Colonial Retail Book Trade: Availability and Affordability of Reading Material in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *Printing and Society in Early America*, eds. William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1983), 141-143.

<sup>199</sup> Allan R. Raymond, "To Reach Men's Minds: Almanacs and the American Revolution, 1760-1777," *New England Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (September 1978), 370.

neither set of records identified anything more than the quantity and “Almanack” in their accounts, so it is impossible to know whether Greenbrier’s settlers were reading Rind, Purdie and Dixon, or another printer’s publications. Although the publishers and versions are unknown, the contents of the different almanacs were fairly uniform and politically neutral, so publishers could maximize sales. The *Virginia Almanack* often began with a note from the author about the state of affairs, a list of county officials and county court dates, the names of representatives to the House of Burgesses, mileage from Williamsburg to various cities, a monthly calendar complete with weather and tidal information, and notable events and anniversaries. Any blank spaces were filled with prose or verse or even a serialized story.<sup>200</sup> In the 1770s, as patriotic fervor grew, some New England almanacs began to comment on politics more frequently; however, the *Virginia Almanack* was almost completely lacking in political topics despite the colony’s support for the patriot cause.<sup>201</sup> By having access to a *Virginia Almanack*, Greenbrier settlers’ partook in an experience common across Virginia. They saw the same information about the government, weather, and the days of celebration and memorialization, and they read the same stories, poems, and humorous anecdotes, which connected them and their identity to the colony more widely.

Beyond almanacs, most books sold at the Greenbrier stores were identified simply as “book,” with a few exceptions for a copy of *Robinson Crusoe*, a “dixinnary,” entries

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<sup>200</sup> Raymond, “To Reach Men’s Minds,” 371; Marion Barber Stowell, *Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Weekday Bible* (New York: Burt Franklin & Co., Inc., 1977), 203, 205, 231.

<sup>201</sup> Raymond, “To Reach Men’s Minds,” 394.

for “Spelling Book,” and four religious texts.<sup>202</sup> The religious texts sold in Greenbrier make specific connection to Presbyterianism, which was the denomination most prominent in the upper Shenandoah Valley, where many Greenbrier settlers originated, after the Scots-Irish arrived in the mid-eighteenth century. The presence of approximately twenty-five books among several hundred accounts at two stores appears quite minimal; however, since backcountry settlers likely shared books and discussed them, one book would have easily been utilized by multiple people. Although the first church of any denomination was not physically established in the Greenbrier Valley until the 1780s, and there are no records of itinerant Presbyterian ministers traveling through Greenbrier, the religious texts sold at the stores demonstrate that religion and religious belief, especially Presbyterianism, were part of the Greenbrier community.<sup>203</sup>

While religious practice certainly had a range of expression and devotion in the Greenbrier Valley, it is worth noting that customers who purchased religious texts were not among the names of those who were drinking and competing in shooting competitions at either Greenbrier business. These religious texts shaped individual

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<sup>202</sup> *Robinson Crusoe*, written by Daniel Defoe and published in 1719, is the only work of fiction identified among the Greenbrier Valley store records. *Crusoe*, which was a popular novel in the American colonies, and may have been printed in an abridged form. Because of the cost of books, some works of fiction were printed as abridged versions with *Robinson Crusoe* having the most abridged editions printed by far at thirty-nine compared to the next most popular novel at only thirteen editions. See Robert B. Winans, “Bibliography and the Cultural Historian: Notes on the Eighteenth-Century Novel,” in *Printing and Society in Early America*, eds. William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1983), 182.

<sup>203</sup> John Alderson, a Baptist minister, is one of the first known ministers in the area. He moved west in the late 1770s with his family and his Marriage Register includes marriages from the Greenbrier Valley in the early 1780s. He founded a Baptist church in the area in the 1780s. See Rice, *History of Greenbrier County*, 191-193; John Alderson, Marriage Register, 1775-1798, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA; Otis K. Rice, *West Virginia: The State and Its People* (Parsons, WV: McClain Printing Company, 1979), 101.



beliefs and identities, but given the relative scarcity of books, backcountry settlers likely shared their books or discussed them with others.<sup>204</sup> With the emphasis on sharing and discussing books in backcountry settlements, just a few books could reach a large audience and have a broad impact on beliefs, ideology, and identity throughout the community.

Considering the content and origins of each of the four religious works sold at the Greenbrier store offers insights into the religious beliefs of the Greenbrier community beyond what can be understood through migration patterns or country of origin. On December 11, 1773, John Davis Sr., a customer at Read's store, bought "1 Gospel Sonet Book" for three shillings and nine pence and two months later, Samuel Verner made a similar purchase of "1 gospel sonet" though his copy of the book was just two shillings and six pence.<sup>205</sup> The full title of the work was *Gospel Sonnets: or Spiritual Songs, in Six Parts* by Scottish minister Ralph Erskine. Erskine was ordained in the Presbyterian church in 1709 and a vocal member of the branch of the church that seceded from the Church of Scotland in the 1730s over theological issues.<sup>206</sup>

In the 1740s, Erskine corresponded with a number of well-known ministers in the American colonies who were leaders in the religious movement later known as the Great Awakening, such as Gilbert Tennant and George Whitefield. Whitefield even visited

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<sup>204</sup> Valentine, "Libraries and Print Culture in Early North Carolina," 307.

<sup>205</sup> Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>206</sup> "Erskine, Ralph (1686–1752)," David C. Lachman in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. David Cannadine, Oxford: OUP, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8871> (accessed 3 September 2017).

Erskine during his travels in Scotland.<sup>207</sup> Ralph Erskine was also a poet, and he wrote *Gospel Sonnets* as a work of theological poems, which was first published in the American colonies during the 1740s by Benjamin Franklin, who printed dozens of books related to George Whitefield or recommended by him.<sup>208</sup> These works, like Erskine's *Gospel Sonnets*, furthered the impact of the Great Awakening throughout the American colonies. In 1760, a ninth edition of *Gospel Sonnets* was printed in Philadelphia, which is most likely the edition that Greenbrier settlers purchased in the early 1770s as it moved through commercial networks to Staunton and on to the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>209</sup>

When Samuel Verner made his purchase of *Gospel Sonnets*, he did so alongside a purchase of Hervey's *Meditations*.<sup>210</sup> While Erskine was Presbyterian, James Hervey was a minister in the Church of England during the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>211</sup> Hervey was educated at Oxford and joined the group of Oxford Methodists led by John Wesley. He was ordained in 1739 and wrote his *Meditations and Contemplations* in the late 1740s. Hervey's *Meditations* drew on the eighteenth-century's emphasis on rational thought and natural theology, which was referred to as physico-theology, as he advocated

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<sup>207</sup> Thomas Kidd, *George Whitefield: America's Spiritual Founding Father* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 89.

<sup>208</sup> Kidd, *George Whitefield*, 85.

<sup>209</sup> The ninth edition, published in 1760, was re-printed by W. Dunlap in Philadelphia for New York bookseller G. Noel. This is likely the edition Greenbrier customers purchased. See Ralph Erskine, *Gospel sonnets; or, Spiritual songs. In six parts. I. The believer's espousals. II. The believer's jointure. III. The believer's riddle. IV. The believer's lodging. V. The believer's soliloquy. VI. The believer's principles. Concerning creation and redemption, law and Gospel, justification and sanctification, faith and sense, heaven and earth. By the late Mr. Ralph Erskine, Minister of the Gospel at Dunfermline*, Philadelphia, PA: Re-printed by W. Dunlap, 1760, Early American Imprints, Series I, no. 8593 (accessed 3 September 2017).

<sup>210</sup> Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>211</sup> "Hervey, James (1714–1758)," Isabel Rivers in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, see online ed., ed. David Cannadine, Oxford: OUP, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13113> (accessed 4 September 2017).

viewing the world with what he termed “the Christian’s natural philosophy.”<sup>212</sup> Hervey’s book was addressed to a “Miss R— T—,” who was “a Lady of the most valuable Endowments.”<sup>213</sup> Hervey’s appeal to women was likely because he provided a “tangible, concrete subject matter which could be used as a basis for spiritual meditation” and that by the mid-eighteenth century, Hervey’s work was popular throughout the American colonies as part of the revival of women’s devotional literature.<sup>214</sup>

Although *Meditations* was directed to women, it was listed in Samuel Verner’s account; however, the book could have easily been purchased for a wife or daughter though no such reference is noted. Considering the cost of books, in 1774 many popular books were published as abridged versions. A bookseller in New York noted printing an edition of Hervey’s *Meditations* that would sell for two shillings and six pence, while also creating a shortened version with a less-expensive binding that he could sell for a single shilling to “poor people...who cannot afford to buy the whole at once.”<sup>215</sup> In the Greenbrier Valley, Samuel Verner’s copy of Hervey’s *Meditations* cost three shillings and six pence, which most likely indicates his book was a full version rather than an abridged edition.

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<sup>212</sup> The Oxford English Dictionary defines “physico-theology” as “theology based on the constitution of the natural world.” “physico-theology, n.”. OED Online. June 2017. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/143138?redirectedFrom=physico-theology> (accessed 3 September 2017); James Hervey, *Meditations and Contemplations: in Two Volumes* (New York: W. W. Vermilye, 1805), 101.

<sup>213</sup> Hervey, *Meditations and Contemplations*, vii; Kevin J. Hayes, *A Colonial Woman’s Bookshelf*, (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 53.

<sup>214</sup> Hayes, *A Colonial Woman’s Bookshelf*, 53-54.

<sup>215</sup> Elizabeth Carroll Reilly and David D. Hall, “Customers and the Market for Books,” in *A History of the Book in America, Vol. I: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, eds. Hugh Amory and David D. Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 391.

One book purchased at John Stuart's Greenbrier store was identified as "1 Large Confession."<sup>216</sup> While this initially appears to be a generic title perhaps referring to the size of the book, or a full rather than abridged printed edition, it is most likely a reference to the *Confession of Faith, the Larger Catechism*, which was the most prominent book by that name in the eighteenth century in both the American colonies and Britain.<sup>217</sup> The *Confession* was part of the seventeenth-century *Westminster Confession of Faith* drawn up between the English Parliament and Scottish Presbyterians in 1643 that essentially briefly established a joint British and Presbyterian Empire before the beginning of the English Civil War. While the "Presbyterian Empire" did not survive the English Civil War, the *Westminster Confession* continued to be a core document for Presbyterians.

One of the most interesting religious texts sold at a Greenbrier Valley store, both for its connection to Presbyterian history and use in the eighteenth century, was identified as "hind let loose."<sup>218</sup> Though an unusual title, it referred to a seventeenth-century work by Presbyterian minister Alexander Shields, a Scottish Covenanter. *A Hind Let Loose* was a reference to a verse from the Old Testament book of Genesis as seventeenth-century Presbyterians compared themselves to one of the twelve tribes of Israel.<sup>219</sup> The

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<sup>216</sup> The *Confession* was purchased by James Jurden. See Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>217</sup> *The confession of faith, the larger and shorter catechisms, with the Scripture proofs at large. Together with the sum of saving knowledge (contain'd in the Holy Scriptures, and held forth in the said confession and catechisms) and practical use thereof; covenants national and solemn league, acknowledgement of sins and engagement to duties, directories, form of church government, &c. of publick-authority in the Church of Scotland. With acts of Assembly and Parliament, relative to, and approbative of the same.* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1745), Early American Imprints, Series I, no. 5709 (accessed 13 October 2017); Joseph S. Moore, *Founding Sins: How a Group of Antislavery Radicals Fought to Put Christ into the Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 12-16.

<sup>218</sup> Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>219</sup> The Oxford Dictionary spells the name "Sheilds" rather than "Shields." See Michael Jenkins, "Sheilds, Alexander (1659/60–1700)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. David Cannadine, (Oxford:

“Covenanter” term and identity developed a generation after the solemn pacts, or covenants, made in the 1640s between Scottish Presbyterians and the English Parliament. The covenants had effectively stated that the people of Scotland and the entire British Isles, including the monarch, were under the spiritual authority of God.<sup>220</sup> The covenants and the religious and political turmoil surrounding them sparked the English Civil War, and as the decades wore on, commitments to the covenants faded. By the time of the restoration of Charles II, there was a much smaller group of staunch Covenanters on the perimeter of Scottish religious life and their movement was no longer seen as a national Christian vision, but rather as a religious rebellion led by outlaw ministers who were increasingly being put to death.<sup>221</sup>

Alexander Shields was one of the last outlaw Covenanter ministers and *A Hind Let Loose* was published in 1687. The book was so feared by authorities in Edinburgh that they ordered copies of the book destroyed after its publication.<sup>222</sup> The fear of Shields’ work was in part because of his “theory of justified resistance” vindicating the Covenanters’ opposition to what they considered to be the actions of a tyrannical government.<sup>223</sup> Shields used passages from the Bible to condemn the tyranny of the

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Oxford University Press, 2004), see online ed., <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25302> (accessed 4 September 2017); Alexander Shields, *A Hind Let Loose: or, an Historical Representation of the Testimonies of the Church of Scotland, for the Interest of Christ...*, Edinburgh (1687, reprint 1744). Shields cited Genesis 49:21, which states that “Naphtali,” who was one of the sons of Jacob, was “a hind let loose: he giveth goodly words.”; Genesis 49:21 (King James Version); One Presbyterian minister “compared the [Covenanter] movement to one of the twelve tribes of Israel, Naphtali, the most fiercely independent of the Jewish people.” See Moore, *Founding Sins*, 25.

<sup>220</sup> Moore, *Founding Sins*, 8-11.

<sup>221</sup> Moore, *Founding Sins*, 11-21.

<sup>222</sup> Jinkins, “Sheilds, Alexander (1659/60–1700)” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>223</sup> Liam McIlvanney, “Robert Burns and the Calvinist Radical Tradition, *History Workshop Journal* 40 (Autumn 1995), 137.

English monarchy, arguing that its failure to be just meant that its authority passed to the church, and that tyrants would receive God's judgment.<sup>224</sup> Authorities may have been particularly fearful of the practical implications of some of Shields' statements, such as, "a Ruler's Acts of Tyranny and Usurpation make him a Tyrant and Usurper, and give ground to disown his just and legal authority," which he followed with a list of nations that Shields believed were ruled by tyrants, or even more terrifying for English officials, a list of those who had deposed their leaders as a result of perceived tyrannical behavior.<sup>225</sup>

In the eighteenth century, *A Hind Let Loose* was still considered a radical text in the American backcountry. In 1763, when the Paxton Boys, who were primarily from Presbyterian congregations in Pennsylvania, attacked and killed peaceful Susquehannock Indians, they were led by Covenanter descendants of the men and women who were executed after the restoration of Charles II.<sup>226</sup> The Covenanter spirit and outlook were also well known to Pennsylvania's Quaker leaders who, as historian Joseph Moore noted, "believed that 'not only Covenanter, but the whole Body of Presbyterians' were 'actuated by the same rebellious Principles' that caused the Paxton insurrection."<sup>227</sup> Even more pointedly, Pennsylvania's Quakers accused Presbyterians "of revering 'a Book called

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<sup>224</sup> Joseph S. Moore, "Irish Radicals, Southern Conservatives: Slavery, Religious Liberty, and the Presbyterian Fringe in the Atlantic World" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2011), 167.

<sup>225</sup> Shields, *A Hind Let Loose*, 333-337.

<sup>226</sup> In 1685, "The particularly hated Earl of Claverhouse shot John Brown in front of his wife and children," in 1763, John's descendant William Brown was a leader of the Paxton Boys' uprising. When the government representatives demanded that Brown and other participants sign a petition of grievances, Brown refused "because the petition referred to them as 'his Majesty's faithful and loyal Subjects,' As a Covenanter, Brown would be called nothing of the sort." See Joseph S. Moore, *Founding Sins*, 26, 44-45.

<sup>227</sup> Moore, *Founding Sins*, 45.

*Hind let loose*” (the Covenanters’ beloved text of martyrdom), which was ‘almost as sacred among them as the Confession of Faith.’”<sup>228</sup> Considering the history of Alexander Shield’s work and the reaction to it in the Pennsylvania backcountry, it is impossible to see *A Hind Let Loose* among the books purchased in the Greenbrier Valley and consider it a neutral item. Instead, it must be viewed as having tremendous power to influence its audience, especially a backcountry population in Greenbrier and Botetourt County who were increasingly frustrated with Britain and soon used the words “tyranny” and “usurpation” to describe their disdain for their ruler.

Given the weighty content of Ralph Erskine’s *Gospel Sonnets*, James Hervey’s *Meditations*, and Alexander Shield’s *A Hind Let Loose*, knowing more about Samuel Verner would offer incredible insight into the books’ impact; however, Verner made the briefest appearance in the documentary record. Between May 1771 and April 1774, his purchases at the Mathews-Stuart and Read stores encompassed the three religious books, as well as an almanac and quire of paper, sewing notions like needles, thread and scissors, fabrics such as calico, osnaburg, and taffeta, a cravat, a silk handkerchief, a comb, and salt.<sup>229</sup> Verner paid his accounts with kegs of butter and a black fox skin. Although the store records do not identify any purchases by Verner after 1774, the Greenbrier Company land records include a 1774 survey of 300 acres for him “on the Branches of Little Sinking Creek” adjoining the land of Andrew Donnally’s survey and at the foot of Muddy Creek Mountain in an area just west of present-day Lewisburg, West

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<sup>228</sup> Moore, *Founding Sins*, 45.

<sup>229</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

Virginia.<sup>230</sup> Beyond his purchases at the Greenbrier stores and being named on the list of tithables, the documentary record for Samuel Verner ends, and he is not mentioned among the rosters of Dunmore's War or the county militias during the American Revolution. Although information about Samuel Verner is minimal, his book purchases offer insights into Greenbrier society that would otherwise be completely unknown. Considering the history of Erskine, Hervey, and Shields' publications, it is evident that these books were not considered lightly and were books that, considering Shields' work and reputation, in fact had a stigma attached to them. What happened after Verner purchased the books is equally unknown. Perhaps he read them privately in his home or added them to a personal library. Perhaps Verner was a lay minister and his readings influenced sermons for Greenbrier settlers, or maybe he "read closely and discussed with others" or loaned the books to his neighbors who might have been influenced by Shields' words, even nearly 100 years distant.<sup>231</sup>

On the eve of the American Revolution, there were thirty Presbyterian churches in the Shenandoah Valley, but only two in Botetourt County, and neither of those were in the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>232</sup> There is no evidence that a Presbyterian church, or any church for that matter, was established in Greenbrier until well after the Revolution and there are

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<sup>230</sup> "Samuel Vernor," Greenbrier Company Surveys from the Virginia Land Office, 1751-1776, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA; A survey for William H. Cavendish in Greenbrier County Survey Book 1 references Cavendish's land "at the foot of a mountain" adjoining that of Verner and Colonel Andrew Donnally. See Survey 861/761, Greenbrier County Survey Book, 1:379, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>231</sup> Valentine, "Libraries and Print Culture in Early North Carolina," 307.

<sup>232</sup> Robert F. Scott, "Colonial Presbyterianism in the Valley of Virginia: 1726-1775, Part II," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 35, no. 3 (September 1957), 178.



no extant records of itinerant ministers traveling through the area in the 1770s.<sup>233</sup> Despite the absence of a physical church or minister, the religious texts purchased at the Greenbrier stores confirms that the absence of a church did not necessarily identify a lack of religious belief or sentiment. While the message of Alexander Shields' *A Hind Let Loose* concerned authorities in seventeenth-century England, Ireland, and Scotland, it was a message Virginia's backcountry settlers, like Samuel Verner, found to be relevant to their lives in the eighteenth century and formative to their identity as Americans who were distinct from Britain.

When American colonists spoke against "taxation without representation" and the "tyranny" of the king, they echoed Alexander Shield's sentiments about "refusing to pay wicked Taxation," as he wrote, "It is lawful to pay [taxes] sometimes" if they originated lawfully, "But not so, when they were never either lawfully enacted, or legally exacted, or voluntarily engaged by the Representatives" and such actions "betrayed the Country, Religion, Liberty, Property, and all precious Interests, and declaredly imposed to further the destruction of all."<sup>234</sup> When backcountry settlers expressed their outrage against Parliament and the king just a few years later, Virginia's Presbyterians were not being influenced solely by their colonial leaders and "founding fathers," but also by the

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<sup>233</sup> Otis K. Rice wrote that Presbyterian itinerants were the first ministers in the Greenbrier area and identified Edward Crawford, as well as two men named Frazier and Read; however, he did not cite the sources revealing these men's names. In 1772, the Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church located in Augusta County, directed a licensed minister, Reverend Cummings, to preach eight sermons a year in the Greenbrier and Tygart valleys, but there is no way to know if he really made it to the Greenbrier Valley. See Rice, *History of Greenbrier County*, 183.

<sup>234</sup> Shields, *A Hind Let Loose*, 716.

religious texts that were foundational to Presbyterianism, which emphasized the populace's ability to remove a tyrant from power.

### **Paying for the Goods**

Goods purchased at both John Stuart's Greenbrier store and Matthew Read's business were typically charged to the customer's account and the bill was paid at a later time either in cash, by someone else paying off their account to erase a personal debt, or by payment-in-kind through goods or services. These types of exchange were not unusual, and were described in other stores throughout the backcountry, where settlers commonly used long-term credit and traded items they created and cultivated as payment for their purchases.<sup>235</sup> In the Greenbrier Valley, payments for goods in kind typically came from men's labor with customers crafting furniture, completed building construction, or clothing projects as in the case of the tailors, transporting goods by packhorse, or bringing crops, food items, and local raw materials to the store. Examining payments in-kind, especially at Stuart's store because it had a longer history in the region, is a particularly useful category of analysis as it reveals the types of items Greenbrier settlers were producing. These goods often moved from the Virginia backcountry to the Shenandoah Valley, on to colonial ports, and finally into the Atlantic World.

Offering services in exchange for goods occurred repeatedly at the Greenbrier store. Some customers paid their accounts with construction jobs such as "building 2

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<sup>235</sup> Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 53-54; Diane E. Wenger, *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania: Creating Economic Networks in Early America, 1790-1807* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 36.

chimneys,” “building a store house,” “covering 1 ho[u]se and shead,” and “covering a corn house.”<sup>236</sup> Others completed tasks related to agriculture by “clearing Barn ground” and “making a plough,” or “wintering” animals. Miscellaneous work included “sawing 1500 foot of plank,” “making 1 bedsted,” and “cooperworke.”<sup>237</sup> While services were used occasionally by nearly a dozen men to pay their accounts, customer Samuel Williams’ stands out from the records in November 1773 for not only “covering a corn house,” perhaps as a reference to roofing, hooping a tub, and making a bedstead, but also by “making a coffin for Sue.”<sup>238</sup> The identity of the deceased “Sue” remains a mystery as no one by that name can be firmly linked to Samuel Williams, or to John Stuart, who was unmarried until late in the American Revolution, and beyond these two men, there are countless possibilities for Sue’s identity.

In the twenty-first century, the movement of goods from region to region relies on eighteen-wheelers and their drivers who haul containers of merchandise across the country. In the eighteenth-century Virginia backcountry, the movement of goods depended on packhorses and the packhorsemen who drove the train of horses through the mountains. At Stuart’s store, three men are identified as packhorsemen, with Richard Bradbury “driving pack horses” just once in September 1773, while John Frazer and James Thompson made numerous trips during a multi-year period. John Frazer was under a retainer or contract of sorts for his services which were forty shillings a month from May to October 1771 and again from October 1771 to June 1772. Later in 1772,

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<sup>236</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>237</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>238</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

Frazer made several individual trips with the packhorses at £2 per trip. James Thompson began working as a packhorseman for John Stuart in December 1772, shortly after Frazer's last payment, but while Frazer had a monthly rate for his services, James Thompson was paid per trip, with references to trips to Staunton and "driving the horses to town," at two pounds and five shillings per trip. Given the record's distinctions between "Staunton" and "town," and the creation of the town of Fincastle around the Botetourt County courthouse in 1772, it is possible that Thompson sometimes traveled nearly 120 miles northeast across the mountains to Staunton and sometimes seventy miles southeast toward Fincastle; however, his payment is consistently listed at the same rate.<sup>239</sup>

Crops, livestock, and raw materials were brought to the Greenbrier store for account payments throughout the year. Given life in the backcountry, a customer's entire family was likely involved in planting and cultivating the crops brought to the store as payment for goods. Corn was the most common crop, with most measurements ranging from one to three bushels, but including entries for as much as ten, twenty, or sixty-two bushels specifically identified as feed corn "for horses."<sup>240</sup> Potatoes were offered by four customers as payment at quantities of one, two, three, or twelve bushels in both the fall and spring. A half-bushel of "greens" was also offered in payment by John Keeney Sr. in the fall of 1772. Grains like rye and wheat were used as a form of payment only five times by three customers, with John Wymore paying in wheat twice in the fall of 1772

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<sup>239</sup> William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619*, vol. VIII (Richmond: J & G. Cochran, 1821), 616.

<sup>240</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

and once by “4 Bushels Rye for Seed.”<sup>241</sup> While livestock were less common than crops, there were a handful of entries for swine, horses, cows, and “9 beef cattle” exchanged at the store.<sup>242</sup> These items reveal the types of crops Greenbrier settlers planted and the livestock they raised, which are otherwise not documented.

Notably for Virginia’s eighteenth-century tobacco economy, tobacco is completely absent from the credit side of accounts at the Greenbrier store. Although tobacco was purchased more than a hundred times from 1771 to 1774, and usually in weights of one to three pounds, its absence as an item used in payment is initially curious, until the geography and climate of the Greenbrier Valley are considered. Tobacco was a temperamental crop to produce and preserve and it was also bulky and difficult to transport, so it is not surprising that it was an unpopular item to cultivate, cure, and transport over the mountains by packhorse.<sup>243</sup> Although scholars make general references to tobacco grown in the backcountry, there was tremendous diversity in climate throughout the area defined as “backcountry.” The Piedmont region of Virginia where John Hook established his store near the Upper James River, produced one-fourth

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<sup>241</sup> John Wymore/Wighmore paid in wheat on August 31 and September 15, 1772, and rye on November 30, 1772. Andrew Donnally was the other Greenbrier customer who sold bushels of rye to Stuart and accounts of the Indian attack on Donnally’s home and fort in 1778 describe rye fields nearby. See John Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars and other occurrences, 1749-1780,” Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

<sup>242</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; There was a substantial cattle trade in western Virginia through the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth century and many of those who went on to be key players in the Ohio Valley cattle industry came from the Greenbrier Valley and the South Branch of the Potomac. See Richard K. MacMaster, “The Cattle Trade in Western Virginia, 1760-1830,” in *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era*, ed. Robert D. Mitchell (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 127-149; Paul C. Henlein, *Cattle Kingdom in the Ohio Valley 1783-1860* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1959), 2.

<sup>243</sup> Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 13.

of Britain's tobacco imports in 1773; however, the Greenbrier Valley was in the Appalachian Plateau roughly eighty miles west with a significantly different climate.<sup>244</sup> In addition to the geography and climate being preventative for tobacco production, historian Warren Hofstra argued that in the Shenandoah Valley, where many Greenbrier settlers originated, "Tobacco was simply not part of the traditional farming cultures of immigrants from Germany or Ireland" and that the labor-intensive nature of the crop, which utilized enslaved laborers, would "have struck these newcomers to Virginia as strange."<sup>245</sup> Although initially strange to produce tobacco themselves, many settlers did purchase small quantities of the crop from John Stuart, which appear to have been brought into the Greenbrier Valley rather than coming from local residents.<sup>246</sup>

Dairy products stand out among the goods Greenbrier customers sold to John Stuart's store in part because although most of the entries are under men's names in the accounts, it offers insight into women's labor in the Greenbrier Valley since women were generally responsible for dairying.<sup>247</sup> While cheese was listed as a payment for just two accounts, butter was a common item used in the payment of trade debts throughout the Shenandoah Valley and in Greenbrier its popularity continued with more than three

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<sup>244</sup> Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 21.

<sup>245</sup> Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia*, 207-208.

<sup>246</sup> 16 February 1770, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 102. Despite the absence of sales of tobacco in the credit side of Stuart's Greenbrier store accounts, on November 10, 1770, the Botetourt County Court ordered the collection of "thirty nine pounds of tobacco" from each tithable person on the "the western waters" and "seventy nine pounds" from each tithable person "not on the western waters," which implies that western Botetourt settlers were growing tobacco, though perhaps not in quantities large enough for its use beyond their tithable payments.

<sup>247</sup> Elinor F. Oakes, "A Ticklish Business: Dairying in New England and Pennsylvania, 1750-1812," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 47, no. 3 (July 1980), 201.

dozen entries by measurements of pail, tub, cask, and keg.<sup>248</sup> At Stuart's store, nearly two-dozen customers sold butter with many making one or two exchanges and only three customers repeatedly using butter as payment on their account. Butter-making was a days-long process that required moderate temperatures and time to allow for the cream to rise and be skimmed before churning and eventually paddling salt into the finished product.<sup>249</sup> Butter was sold both spring and fall, with each of the three customers establishing their own pattern. John Riley brought casks of butter to the store in August, October, and November 1771 and again two years later in December 1773. Patrick Davis brought pails of butter for three months in the spring of 1772. Meanwhile, Lawrence Murphy traded casks of butter annually with entries in December 1771, December 1772, and the end of November 1773.

Beyond the repeat customers selling butter, other aspects of Stuart's butter trade in the Greenbrier Valley stand out. While four customers purchased butter at the Greenbrier store that was surely part of what had been sold to Stuart, thirty casks were sent to the Mathews' Staunton store in 1773. Although it seems likely that the butter was sold and consumed regionally in the Shenandoah Valley, given the Mathews' commercial networks in Philadelphia, it is worth noting that there was an active export butter trade from Philadelphia to the West Indies in the early 1770s.<sup>250</sup> Also notable among the

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<sup>248</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier*, 156.

<sup>249</sup> Oakes, "A Ticklish Business," 203-204.

<sup>250</sup> Elinor Oakes explained the process of preserving butter for export, writing, "Export butter had to be preserved chemically" and a common process was to "take two parts of the best common salt, one part sugar, and one part salt petre, and blend them completely" then mix "one ounce of the preservative with every sixteen ounces of butter. Butter so prepared kept for three years. Before being eaten, heavily salted butter had to be washed with fresh milk and hot water." See Oakes, "A Ticklish Business," 204; Joan M.

entries for butter are the names of two women, both of whom are identified as “widow” in the ledger margins. Dairying was a common way for single women and widows to provide income for themselves and their families.<sup>251</sup> Although the twenty other account entries mentioning butter or cheese do not mention women specifically, since dairying part of women’s domain in the eighteenth century, the wives and daughters of the account holders were likely the true producers of the butter and cheese sold to John Stuart.

While butter may have been traded beyond the Shenandoah Valley, Greenbrier settlers also sold ginseng to John Stuart’s store, which is of particular interest for its connection to the Atlantic World. Customers foraged ginseng in the mountains and brought it to Stuart’s store by the pounds during just a handful months each year from 1771 to 1773. Ginseng is a temperamental plant, a deciduous perennial that takes years to germinate and mature and fades after the first frost each year. It needs a specific combination of freezing winter temperatures, rain, well-draining soil, protection from the sun, and the nutrients that result from the decay of maple and poplar leaves to thrive.<sup>252</sup> The need for these various environmental components means that the Appalachian Mountains were an ideal growing location and, in the twenty-first century, it is the only

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Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 80.

<sup>251</sup> Deborah Valenze, “The Art of Women and the Business of Men: Women’s Work and the Dairy Industry c. 1740-1840,” *Past and Present* 130 (February 1991), 145.

<sup>252</sup> Kristin Johannsen, *Ginseng Dreams: The Secret World of America’s Most Valuable Plant* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 6-7; Luke Manget, “Ginseng, China, and the Transformation of the Ohio Valley, 1783-1840,” *Ohio Valley History* 17, no. 3 (Fall 2017), 4.



place where American ginseng, which is considered to be “the most valuable wild plant on our continent – and one of the most untamable,” continues to thrive.<sup>253</sup>

Ginseng’s prominence as an American export began after the American Revolution, so its use as a trade good in Greenbrier in the early 1770s is striking. While George Washington mentioned meeting people in the mountains who were harvesting and transporting ginseng to the markets in 1784 and the *Empress of China* carried more than fifty tons of the root as part of the first voyage from the United States to China in 1787, its importance as a commercial crop in Virginia prior to the American Revolution is somewhat unclear.<sup>254</sup> There was a growing interest in the plant throughout the eighteenth century, in part because of the influence of gentry leaders like William Byrd II and his correspondence with the Royal Society in England.<sup>255</sup>

The sale of ginseng at the Greenbrier store took place from 1771 to 1773, and tracing Luke Manget’s research on ginseng in the Ohio Valley back into the 1770s from his starting point in 1783 offers some additional insights into Greenbrier’s ginseng trade.<sup>256</sup> Manget describes Scots-Irishman William Ewing’s hunt for ginseng in 1783 and sale of the crop at James Alexander’s business in the southern Greenbrier Valley near

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<sup>253</sup> Johannsen, *Ginseng Dreams*, 7; At one time forest in northern China were another region where ginseng grew.

<sup>254</sup> “12 September 1784,” *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 4, 1 September 1784–30 June 1786, eds. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978) 18-20; Patricia Johnston and Carolina Frank, *Global Trade and Visual Arts in Federal New England* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2014), 76.

<sup>255</sup> William Byrd corresponded with Royal Society members about ginseng and it became his hobby, writing “I believe ever since the Tree of Life has been so strongly guarded the Earth has never produced any vegetable so friendly to men as Ginseng.” Quoted in Maude H. Woodfin, “William Byrd and the Royal Society” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 40, no. 2 (April 1932), 118; John H. Appleby, “Ginseng and the Royal Society,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* (37, no. 2 (March 1983), 121.

<sup>256</sup> Manget, “Ginseng, China, and the Transformation of the Ohio Valley,” 3-23.

present-day Union, West Virginia, as well as William Blanton's use of ginseng to purchase land from the Greenbrier company, and John O'Neal's settlement of a lawsuit in the 1780s with a payment in ginseng.<sup>257</sup> Each of the men Manget described, Ewing, Alexander, Blanton, and O'Neal, were customers at John Stuart's store, and William Ewing's brother John was one of the men selling ginseng to the store in 1772.<sup>258</sup> As ginseng's popularity increased after the American Revolution, the Greenbrier Valley stayed among the top producing regions.<sup>259</sup> In 1783, when Pennsylvania physician Dr. Robert Johnston was tasked with finding ginseng to send on the *Empress of China*, he wrote that he was heading to Staunton "where I am informed large Quantities of Ginseng has been sent from the Frontier parts." Based on an understanding of the Stuart's Greenbrier store records and business partnership with Sampson and George Mathews, it is evident that ginseng had been flowing over the mountains for more than a decade.<sup>260</sup> Although the use and commercial movement of the ginseng Stuart sent to Staunton is unknown, it was obviously a crop of tremendous value that Greenbrier settlers used to pay their store accounts.

Turning from Greenbrier Valley flora to fauna, animal skins and furs were an important part of transactions at the Greenbrier store and were transported to Staunton in bulk several times each year. Deerskins were the most common skin, along with bear, elk, beaver, otter, fox, raccoon, panther, "cat," wolf, and miscellaneous entries for "small

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<sup>257</sup> Manget, "Ginseng, China, and the Transformation of the Ohio Valley," 3-4, 15-16.

<sup>258</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>259</sup> Manget, "Ginseng, China, and the Transformation of the Ohio Valley," 17.

<sup>260</sup> Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, *The Empress of China* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1984), 38.

furre” or simply “skins.”<sup>261</sup> Deerskins had been a popular trade good among Europeans and Native Americans for more than a century, by the time John Stuart and Sampson and George Mathews created their business partnership and Stuart established the Greenbrier store, in part because of the popularity of items made with deerskins such as buckskin breeches, saddles and harnesses, and book bindings.<sup>262</sup>

Although deerskins were typically connected to Indian trade during the eighteenth century, the Greenbrier store records do not make any reference to Native Americans and more typically imply that the men bringing skins to the Greenbrier store were hunters themselves rather than trading with Native Americans for the skins. Since selling skins and furs to John Stuart’s Greenbrier store evidently disconnected from any larger Indian trade, it is not surprising that terminology used by Indian traders is absent from the Greenbrier store records. Where Creek traders referred to skins as “dressed,” “half-dressed,” or “undressed,” skins brought to the Greenbrier store were often identified only as “deerskins.”<sup>263</sup>

At the Greenbrier store, John Stuart made some distinctions between the types of skins, but these categories were based on the skin itself rather than its processing, with Stuart referencing skins as gray, red, fawn, and lighthaired. The descriptions of deerskins as “gray” or “red” signify the seasonality of the deer’s coat and the related value of the

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<sup>261</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>262</sup> Greg O’Brien, “Indian Eras, Deerskin Trade, 1700-1800,” *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, vol. 3, ed. Charles Reagan Wilson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 149.

<sup>263</sup> Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 88; Robert Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 108.

skin.<sup>264</sup> In preparation for the winter months, white-tailed deer grow coats of thick grayish fur that makes the skin less valuable to manufacture into leather.<sup>265</sup> In the spring and summer, the gray coat sheds and is replaced by a reddish coat of thin hair that is more easily removed and provided a more supple hide useful for leather goods like buckskin breeches. With a few exceptions, the seasonality of the fur is replicated in the store records as red deerskins were brought to the Greenbrier store primarily from August through October, while gray skins arrived between January and April.<sup>266</sup> From Greenbrier, the skins were transported to Staunton in bulk, but any processing or transportation beyond the Shenandoah Valley is unknown.

Among the customers bringing skins to the Greenbrier store, some settlers made multiple transactions over several seasons or years while others sold skins only once or twice. William Blanton, who later used ginseng to purchase land from the Greenbrier Company, brought nearly ninety gray deerskins, five bear skins, and a number of small furs to the store as one of the first customers in April 1771, which were surely the result of several years of hunting as he did not return with more deerskins until the spring of 1773 when he brought approximately thirty.<sup>267</sup> Patrick Davis, who brought a pail of butter to the store in 1772, brought dozens of deerskins within a few days of Blanton. The Greenbrier records also identify six men specifically as “hunter;” however, only one

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<sup>264</sup> Roland W. Kays and Don E. Wilson, *Mammals of North America*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 208.

<sup>265</sup> Lyman Copeland Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 229.

<sup>266</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>267</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

of these men actually sold skins or furs to Stuart. James Mooney, who was one of only six men identified as “hunter,” brought skins to the store in February 1773 when he brought four buckskins followed by twenty-four “Lighthaired Deerskins” the following summer.

Demonstrating that hunting and trapping were not always a solitary affair, some customers split the sale of the skins or traveled to the store together to make their trades. Walter Kelly and James Pauley seemed to work together to hunt and haul skins to the store. Walter Kelly initially settled at the Muddy Creek settlement in the early 1770s, but within a few years moved about seventy miles west of the Greenbrier Valley to the Kanawha River, and Pauley, who purchased breechclouts and other backcountry necessities, had corresponding account entries for “your part of 78 Deerskins” on March 25, 1772. They were at the store together again in the fall of 1772, and the spring of 1773 when they split the profits on beaver furs. Both men also made individual transactions for skins with Walter Kelly bringing a variety of skins during an eighteen month period spanning 1772 and 1773, including deerskins, red deerskins, cat skins, gray fox, black fox, raccoon, and two wolves, and James Pauley trading deerskins and a wolf ticket. Brothers Peter, John, and Isaac Vanbibber made transactions in animal skins, but did so individually, even though they arrived at the store and sold their skins on the same date on April 3, 1772. While Isaac had a number of deer and beaver skins calculated by weight, as well as thirty small furs, John brought eighteen deerskins and one beaver skin, and Peter had twelve deerskins.

Some of the men who participated in the animal skin and fur trade at the Greenbrier store were those who sent parts of their youth in Indian captivity and perhaps learned to hunt and trap from the Native Americans. Conrad Yoakum, who had escaped the “Clendenin Massacre” in 1763, sold deerskins to the store, and his nephew, George Yoakum, who was with the Shawnees for roughly a year in the 1760s after an attack that killed his father, and was still a teenager in 1773, sold nine small furs to the store.<sup>268</sup> Jerry Carpenter, who was taken into captivity after an attack on the Jackson’s River area in the 1750s and spent nearly a decade with the Shawnees, moved to the Greenbrier Valley and brought nearly thirty deerskins to the store during the fall of 1771, twenty-two during the following autumn, including entries for both gray and red deerskins, and twenty-three in the winter of 1773.<sup>269</sup> In the spring of 1774, Jerry and his brother Thomas were at the store simultaneously with roughly twenty skins each.

Greenbrier settlers paid for items they purchased at the stores with cash, credit, or goods and services, such as crops, livestock, ginseng, and animal skins and furs. These exchanges are a reminder that, although agricultural practices, hunting, and skilled trades were part of daily life in the Greenbrier Valley, the Virginia backcountry was a place where settlers needed and relied on connections between their communities and exchanges with the world beyond their homes for the necessities of daily life. While

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<sup>268</sup> Ian K. Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free: Capture, Adjustment, and Recollection in Allegheny Country*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2013), 551; George is identified as the son of Felty Yoakum, brother of Conrad, in his grandfather Matthias Yoakum’s will. See “Matthias Yoakum,” Will Book A, Botetourt County, Virginia; For a full list of the women and children taken captive at Greenbrier, see Ewing, “Indian Captives Released by Colonel Bouquet,” 195-196; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>269</sup> Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free*, 457; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

settlers produced many crops and raised livestock, they still relied on purchases at the stores to acquire goods that were part of a larger network of exchange beyond Greenbrier, as well as many imported items, rather than producing everything themselves or simply going without them.<sup>270</sup>

### **Bounty Business**

In addition to deerskins, wolf skins, referred to as “wolf tickets,” were brought to the Greenbrier store; however, they appear to have been turned in for the wolf bounty offered by the colony of Virginia rather than as a simple trade item. “Wolf tickets” appeared as credits in more than a dozen entries in the Greenbrier records between March 1772 and December 1773. Unlike deerskins that were often transported from Greenbrier to the “Store at Staunton” in bulk, there was only one wolf skin transported across the mountains. Most of the entries for wolf skins are in Patrick Lockhart’s account in the fall of 1773 with an entry for “12 woolf Ticketts sent you before this date” and another entry three months later for “5 woolf Ticketts sent per G. Mathes.”<sup>271</sup> Wolf skins are also on the credit-side of Lockhart’s account with an entry for “8 woolf Tickets Recd. of Wm. MClenachan” on December 25, 1773.<sup>272</sup>

None of the entries for “wolf tickets” include pricing, but instead seem to be a record of a transactions as part of official Botetourt or Augusta County business. The wording of these entries combined with the names associated with the accounts furthers

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<sup>270</sup> Perkins, “The Consumer Frontier,” 486; Lewis *Artisans in the North Carolina Backcountry*, 1-2.

<sup>271</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>272</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

this perspective because, although Patrick Lockhart was simply identified as “Merchant” within the Greenbrier store records, he was Sampson Mathews’ brother-in-law, ran an ordinary at his home near the Botetourt County courthouse in Fincastle, had his own business partnership with the Mathews’ brothers in Fincastle although the exact details of the partnership are unknown, and, lastly, Lockhart served as a county magistrate and eventually represented Botetourt County at Virginia’s Conventions during the American Revolution.<sup>273</sup> William McClenachan, who was also referenced with entries for wolf skins, was another freeholder in Botetourt County who served as a Gentleman Justice and was one of the men who collected tithables through western Botetourt and the Greenbrier Valley during the early 1770s.<sup>274</sup> Lastly, George Mathews himself was identified in Lockhart’s account. Each of the men associated with the entries for wolf skins was prominent within their region and county and together, all the elements of these entries imply that the wolf skins brought to John Stuart’s Greenbrier store were part of an official transaction claiming wolf bounties from the county rather than simply a purchase or sale of skins.

By the mid-eighteenth century, bounties were paid by individual counties for each wolf killed as an attempt to remove the threat of wolves to herds of domesticated

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<sup>273</sup> Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 176, 222; “Election of Convention Delegates in Botetourt County,” 10 April 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VI, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 368, 374; Patrick Lockhart’s partnership with the Mathews’ brothers is revealed in a number of court records as he was referenced alongside the Mathews in debt settlement cases.

<sup>274</sup> Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County Reel 149, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA. Hereafter, collection cited as LGRC, LVA.



livestock and the deer population.<sup>275</sup> The bounty of 100 pounds tobacco for an old wolf and fifty pounds tobacco for a young wolf, was soon converted to a payment of money rather than tobacco in several frontier counties, including Augusta, where the Greenbrier Valley was located at the time, and Augusta was permitted “to discharge their tobacco dues in money, at the rate of one penny per pound.”<sup>276</sup> This rate meant that “the persons entitled to the rewards for killing wolves within the said counties receive much less than others” while the counties still received the full payment, and the Assembly determined it was an “injustice to individuals and of no advantage to the public” and enacted a rate of “twelve shillings and sixpence for every hundred weight, to be paid by such counties, and repaid them by the publick in tobacco.”<sup>277</sup>

In 1769, shortly after the creation of Botetourt County, the Virginia Assembly increased the reward for wolf bounties, but when they addressed wolves again three years later, they repealed the increased rate in Botetourt County where it was “found burthensome to the inhabitants of the said county.”<sup>278</sup> In November, 1772, months after the Assembly repealed the bounty increase in Botetourt, the Botetourt County Court ordered that “the sum of four shillings and two pence for every old wolf head” for those who received bounties “at laying the former levies for this County,” and that anyone who brought a wolf bounty before the repeal be allowed twenty five shillings for an old wolf

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<sup>275</sup> David S. Hardin, “Laws of Nature: Wildlife Management Legislation in Virginia,” in *The American Environment: Interpretations of Past Geographies*, ed. Lary M. Dilsaver and Craig E. Colten (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1992), 150.

<sup>276</sup> Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, vol. VIII, 48.

<sup>277</sup> Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, vol. VIII, 48.

<sup>278</sup> Hening, *The Statutes at Large*, vol. VIII, 388-389, 595.

and a proportional reward for young wolves.<sup>279</sup> Beyond the colony's act of assembly and the county's orders, the reality in Greenbrier was that "old" or adult wolves brought to the Greenbrier store received ten shillings while a young wolf received five.<sup>280</sup> At the colony's 1765 rate of twelve shillings and six pence for every hundredweight, or 112 pounds, it is likely the wolf skins brought into the Greenbrier store weighed less than 112 pounds if they were accurately applying the colony's bounty payment.<sup>281</sup>

The reason John Stuart's Greenbrier store was the location for wolf skins is unknown; however, it likely speaks to both Stuart's prominence in the area and the lack of another official location where settlers could turn in their wolf skins and receive a bounty in exchange for decreasing the colony's wolf population. The entry from George Mathews in Augusta County, along with the reference to Patrick Lockhart, may imply that the skins were brought to Greenbrier from George Mathews in Staunton and then were combined with those collected in Greenbrier and areas further west in Botetourt County before Patrick Lockhart took them to Fincastle. The details of the financial side of the wolf bounty system in Greenbrier are unknown, but, if there was not an official structure in place to offer the bounties, as a store, Stuart likely was willing to buy the wolf skins from settlers because he had the available cash or store credit. Since the skins were sent to Patrick Lockhart, it appears that he was likely in charge of collecting wolf bounties and repaying Stuart from the county or colony.

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<sup>279</sup> 13 November 1773, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 167-168.

<sup>280</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>281</sup> An adult North American Gray Wolf weighs approximately 65-180 pounds (male) or 50-120 pounds (female). See Kays and Wilson, *Mammals of North America*, 170.

## Customers: Reading Race between the Lines

Examining the people between the lines of goods provides insight into questions about servitude, slavery, and race in the Greenbrier Valley that are absent from other sources because of the scarcity of documents from the region and era. Eighteenth-century Virginia was a slave society; however, the Virginia backcountry's small-farm agriculture without a cash crop like tobacco, and its ethnic diversity of German and Scots-Irish settlers reduced the presence of both free and enslaved laborers.<sup>282</sup> Although the word "slave" was never used in the Greenbrier store records, "servant" was used in a number of accounts and it unknown if these references refer to free or enslaved laborers since Virginians often used the words servant and slave interchangeably.<sup>283</sup>

At the Greenbrier stores, servants purchased items for both their masters and their masters' friends and acquaintances. For example, Robert McClenachan's account lists tools, salt, fabric, and rum purchased "per Servant Man" in 1771, while Samuel Clark's servant man picked up tobacco for Clark as well as an order of unknown items for John Rogers.<sup>284</sup> Sampson and George Mathews were also involved in supplying servants to Greenbrier settlers, but the wording in these entries implies slavery as opposed to servitude. An entry for the store at Staunton on May 14, 1773, described a credit for "1 [Servant] Man Sold" for twenty-five pounds and twenty shillings.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 52-53.

<sup>283</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>284</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>285</sup> The Mathews brothers' account includes four credit-side entries for servants ranging from £20 to £29 and including two references to a bond for a servant. See Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

Beyond the references for servants, reading between the lines of the Greenbrier store records also reveals elements of racial identity in the Greenbrier Valley. There are three references to race within the Mathews' records and each appears differently within the store accounts.<sup>286</sup> Customer James Davis' account entry for a pot purchased at the store includes a notation that it was "per Negroe." Meanwhile, customer David Glassburn's account includes Glassburn's payment of a debt of eight shillings and six pence to "Negroe Will."<sup>287</sup> While Davis' account likely referred to an enslaved laborer, the ambiguity of lived experiences is demonstrated in the case of "Negroe Will." David Glassburn's payment to Will rather than a master could be a result of Will's status as a free man, or he may have been enslaved, but able to hire himself out to work.<sup>288</sup> Will's description as "Negroe Will" does not reveal any more about his status as an enslaved or free man because Stuart's records often refer to customers colloquially rather than by full legal names and with many descriptive references to "old man," "redhead," or by customers' occupations, marital status, or relationships to each other as a way to identify them and their store accounts.<sup>289</sup>

The only other reference to race within the Greenbrier store records was in James Tanner's account. Tanner's account began on January 31, 1772, with the purchase of a

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<sup>286</sup> Dick Pointer, Andrew Donnally's enslaved man who is well known in the Greenbrier Valley for his heroism during a 1778 Indian attack on Donnally's Fort and will be discussed further in Chapter VI, is not referenced in the records of either the Mathews-Stuart or Read businesses.

<sup>287</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>288</sup> The entry paying "Negroe Will" is on May 27, 1772. This would have been in the midst of planting season in the Greenbrier Valley as well as a time when other springtime preparations were made at Glassburn's home.

<sup>289</sup> For a similar backcountry example, see Turk McCleskey's study of Edward Tarr, who was commonly known as "Black Ned" even after gaining his freedom. McCleskey, *The Road to Black Ned's Forge*, 5, 78; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

drawing knife, and a notation in the margin next to his name identified him as “mulatto.”<sup>290</sup> In the eighteenth-century, “mulatto,” signified that someone was of both European and African descent, but having a mixture of African and European ancestry did not signify an individual’s status as people “known then as mulattos could be slaves and Negroes could be free.”<sup>291</sup> Tanner’s account only spans two months, from January 31 to March 21, 1772, although his name also appears a few months later as part of a payment from customer John Riley on June 5, 1772 for an unknown good or service.

One individual stands out in the Greenbrier store records for what is known, yet absent from the accounts, about his racial identity. Peter Smith had an account at the Greenbrier store from April 1771 to September 1773, and his name again appeared in the records in 1778 with an account for “The Estate of Peter Smith” and a number of entries settling his estate, including selling land, paying bills, and clerk fees.<sup>292</sup> Historian Turk McCleskey discussed Peter Smith in his work on Augusta County’s Edward Tarr, who was the first black landowner beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains.<sup>293</sup> Smith was one of five children of Nicholas Smith, who was identified as “a free Mulato” and lived in Augusta County. Nicholas Smith abandoned his children in the 1750s, and Peter, who was just four years old at the time, was bound to Elijah McClenachan who agreed to teach him “to read, write, cast accounts, and practice the cooper’s trade.”<sup>294</sup> When Peter

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<sup>290</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>291</sup> McCleskey, *The Road to Black Ned’s Forge*, 7, 118. McCleskey notes that most free people of color in the Virginia backcountry owed their freedom to a white female ancestor.

<sup>292</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>293</sup> McCleskey, *The Road to Black Ned’s Forge*, 3-4.

<sup>294</sup> McCleskey, *The Road to Black Ned’s Forge*, 115, 208; Elijah McClenachan was likely an uncle of the Robert McClenachan who was identified in the Greenbrier store records and was a close friend of John Stuart.

Smith grew up, he moved to the Greenbrier Valley where he was identified on the Botetourt County tax lists for the Levels of Greenbrier as “Milato” in 1774, but that is the last time he was identified by race in the Botetourt County records.<sup>295</sup> The following year, Smith was listed among the tithables on Two Sinking Creeks, without racial identification. John Stuart’s Greenbrier store records never included a racial identifier for Smith, despite entries for multiple years and an account settling his estate. There are two different possibilities for the absence of racial descriptors for Peter Smith in the Greenbrier Valley after 1774. Perhaps John Stuart, who also grew up in Augusta County and was about the same age as Smith, knew Peter Smith personally and therefore did not need to identify him by anything other than his name in the store accounts. It is also possible that since Smith was a free person, his race simply was not a factor in the Greenbrier Valley, where priorities were shaped by the uncertainties of life and an emphasis on merit-based leadership as men sought to prove themselves within the community through their actions.

Even as settlers in the Greenbrier Valley formed a cohesive Greenbrier identity, there were a range of other associations and identities based on an individual and their experience that influenced their acceptance and participation in the community. Although the store record’s information about the unnamed servants and “Negroe,” “Negroe Will,” James Tanner, and Peter Smith is incomplete and does not provide a full picture of their lives, without the accounts, these individuals would be almost completely lost to the historical record as inhabitants of the Greenbrier Valley. The identity of these

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<sup>295</sup> McCleskey, *The Road to Black Ned’s Forge*, 117-118.

men also reiterates that the store was primarily a male world since there were most likely enslaved women in the Greenbrier Valley who were not referenced in John Stuart's records.

### **Customers: The Family Who Shops Together**

Beyond the entries for goods and references to individual people at the Greenbrier stores, family groups were identified, as well, and one of the most interesting examples is of the Lindsey family who provides a snapshot of life in the Greenbrier Valley through the store records. David and Catherine Lindsey moved to the Levels of Greenbrier around 1770 along with their sons, Robert and John, and daughters Sarah, Rebeckah, who also went by Beckey, and Jean, who is also identified as Jane.<sup>296</sup> From May 1771 through November 1772, David Lindsey's account is fairly typical with an assortment of purchases from the generic "Sundrys," rum and diets, fabric and buttons, a file, powder and lead, and salt. The payment on his account is also a snapshot of the range of payments as he paid his account with ten bushels of corn and wintered three calves, sometimes paid in cash, and also brought animal skins to the store. David died in the fall of 1772 and in January 1773, Catherine began an account in her name, which noted her status as "widow" when she sold butter to the store.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> David and Catherine Lindsey were married prior to 1749, and the earliest known references to them are in Frederick County, Virginia, in the 1760s. David was one of six Lindsey men serving in Captain Marquis Calmes' Frederick County militia company in 1755. See Jack E. MacDonald, "The Lindsey/Lindsay Family of Virginia, Kentucky, and Indiana," <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~jacmac/lindsey.pdf> (accessed 18 February 2016).

<sup>297</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

Robert and John Lindsey's accounts at the Greenbrier store were overall similar to their father's with purchases of "sundry" goods, fabric and sewing notions, grocery items like sugar and salt, rum, tools, and powder and lead, but there are some noted distinctions between the accounts of the younger men and their father. While David purchased rum and a couple meals during the years he had his account, Robert and John's accounts reveal greater engagement in the social activities taking place at John Stuart's store.<sup>298</sup> Robert's account included entries for meals of "stew," rum, and payments "to club" over the new year from December 31, 1772 to January 1, 1773. John's account also included entries for rum and diets, as well as a number of entries for the shooting competition held at Stuart's store, including "3 chances at shooting at New Year" when he was likely there alongside his brother. Social activity at the Greenbrier store peaked in late 1772 and early 1773 and Robert and John Lindsey took an active part in those interactions, which notably occurred after their father's death, although it is impossible to know if David's death influenced the young men's social activities by the store records alone.

In addition to the shift from David to Catherine in the store accounts, the Greenbrier store documented death in the Lindsey family in other ways. One of the distinct entries in Robert's account was for the purchase of "48 foot poplar plank for a coffin" and fifty nails on November 30, 1772. While David and Catherine's accounts reveal that David died during the fall of 1772, the entry in Robert's account narrows the timeframe to the end of November. Robert's own account ended in November 1774, but

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<sup>298</sup> Robert's account spans December 1771 to November 1774. John's account spans August 1772 to March 1779.



on December 23, 1776, a new account was listed as “Robert Lindsey’s Estate” and began with payments for the judgment, and execution of his estate. Although there were several entries over a few years, estates often took many years to settle in the eighteenth century and the account for “Robert Lindsey’s Estate” was not closed until April 1779 with an entry noting that it was paid “By John Lindsey in full.”<sup>299</sup>

The Greenbrier store records most easily provide insight into a male backcountry world, but between the lines and behind the names on the accounts, women are often in the shadows of their fathers, husbands, or sons. Catherine Lindsey emerged from the shadows when she began her own account at John Stuart’s store in January 1773, while her daughters, who were most likely unmarried women in their teens or early twenties, are three of only a handful of women who had their own accounts.

While David, Robert, and John Lindsey purchased a range of items including fabrics, tools, grocery items, and rum and meals, the Lindsey daughters almost solely purchased fabric, such as calico, linen, shalloon, and check, and sewing notions, like ribbon, thread, a thimble, pins, and a handkerchief. Rebecka, who was identified as “Miss Rebecka Lindsey” in her account, also purchased a pair of shoes. Jean Lindsey also made purchases from Matthew Read’s store in her own name, with entries for fabric, stockings, and ribbons on two different dates in November 1773 and again the following month. It is possible Jean and John were at Read’s business together when they both

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<sup>299</sup> Ellen Hartigan-O’Connor notes the nature of family credit and debt, particularly with estate administration as “Administrators and executors had to collect and pay debts, sell off land, disentangle financial agreements, and show persistence in the face of court continuations and countersuits.” See Ellen Hartigan-O’Connor, *The Ties that Buy: Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 90-91.

made purchases from him on December 13, and perhaps John's extensive list of fabric and trim purchased on that day benefited from Jean's input.<sup>300</sup>

Of the three Lindsey daughters, Sarah Lindsey's interactions at John Stuart's Greenbrier store are the most intriguing. While entries in her account itself are not particularly remarkable, with purchases of linen, calico, shalloon and check fabrics, although her purchase of a snuff box and trunk stand out, it is her appearance in entries for other accounts, as well as many notations in the margins that is striking.<sup>301</sup> In May, July, and December 1771, August through November 1772, when her father died, and January 1773, Sarah Lindsey made deliveries to Stuart's customers. Altogether, forty-four accounts include notations that items were delivered by "S. Lindsey" and these items span the range of goods in Stuart's inventory, whether powder and lead, fabric, nails, tools, grocery items, or dishwares.<sup>302</sup>

The process of delivering items raises questions about the location of the Lindsey's home within the Greenbrier Valley; however, all that is known is that they lived in the "Levels," which covered approximately twenty miles north to south, although it is feasible that her involvement was due to closer proximity to the store's traditional location along the Greenbrier River between present-day Lewisburg and Ronceverte, West Virginia. Beyond questions about the location of the Lindsey's home is the

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<sup>300</sup> Jean's purchases at Read's store were on November 12, November 30, and December 13, 1773. while her brother John's purchases were December 13 and 28, 1773; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>301</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

<sup>302</sup> The notations are "D. per S. Lindsey," "D.D. per S. Lindsey," and "Dlvd. per S. Lindsey," which were common abbreviations for "delivered."

distance she traveled to make deliveries to customers. Items marked as delivered by Sarah Lindsey span as far east as the Cowpasture River, Jackson's River, and Howard's Creek and as far west as the Muddy Creek community, as well as north to Sinking Creek and Spring Creek. Although Sarah Lindsey's specific duties or role at the Greenbrier store is unclear, John Stuart's account notes payment to Sarah Lindsey for her work, which in true backcountry fashion occurred well after her employment ended. In October 1775, references to Sarah Lindsey end with John Stuart's account entry for "paid Sarah Lindsey £16..10..6½." Any details of Sarah Lindsey's life beyond the store records is unknown.<sup>303</sup>

Although often providing more questions than answers, the Lindsey family presents a snapshot of life in the Greenbrier Valley and the wealth of insights gleaned from both the entries in the Greenbrier store accounts and reading between the lines of goods to learn more about the people who made the purchases. While information about men and women's experiences is evident in individual accounts, considering the family's accounts in relation to each other provides a fuller picture of their lives and experiences in the Greenbrier Valley. Catherine's account alone does not offer the context that it does when paired with David's account and understood as a widow stepping into a male world. Robert and John's accounts may take on additional meaning when their participation in social clubs and shooting competitions is considered in light of their father's recent death. Death itself has more weight when it's seen from the perspective of the living, whether in Catherine's account as "widow," Robert's purchase of poplar

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<sup>303</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773.

planks for his father's coffin, or John settling his brother's estate several years after Robert's death. "Miss" Rebecka Lindsey's account offers a reminder of the visibility a single woman had in colonial America that disappeared after her marriage, while Jean's account at Matthew Read's store also speaks to some element of her economic freedom to establish her own account without oversight from a husband or male family member. Lastly, Sarah Lindsey, whose own list of purchases was minimal, is a noticeable, though not yet fully understood, presence at John Stuart's store with dozens of notations showing her involvement in customer's purchases and deliveries, and a record of payment for her work. While just one of many references to families throughout the Greenbrier store records, the Lindsey's accounts are particularly compelling because of the various threads of experience and interaction they reveal as a window into Greenbrier Valley community.

## **Conclusion**

The Greenbrier businesses run by John Stuart in partnership with Sampson and George Mathews, and Matthew Read, provide a window into commercial exchanges and social interactions in a region of the Virginia backcountry in the revolutionary era. Examining the items sold at the stores reveals that objects offer much more than a record of economics or consumption patterns as they also speak to the development of the community and a shared Greenbrier identity as residents of the Greenbrier Valley, with connections from the backcountry to the colony and on to the Atlantic World. Whether through gatherings that celebrated old and new holidays and traditions, or shooting competitions in a frontier society that emphasized merit-based leadership where a man's

skills garnered admiration, the Greenbrier businesses offered a place for these social exchanges by also serving as taverns.

As stores, the goods bought and sold at the Greenbrier businesses fulfilled practical needs for life in the backcountry, but they also made the settlers participants in a world of goods and commercial exchange that went well beyond the physical boundaries of their daily interactions in the Greenbrier Valley. The early 1770s were a period of relative peace in the Greenbrier Valley after decades of uncertainty and violence, but it did not last long. By early 1774, there were renewed concerns about Indian attacks and settlers demanded action as they petitioned their leaders to let them take offensive action against the Shawnees rather than continue a posture of defense. While Matthew Read's business enterprise ended in the Greenbrier Valley in the spring of 1774, John Stuart continued in Greenbrier and his partnership with Sampson and George Mathews was vital for gathering supplies for an expedition to the Ohio River and the Greenbrier Valley's significance as a meeting place prior to Lord Dunmore's War.

## CHAPTER IV

### “SONS OF THE MOUNTAINS,” 1774<sup>1</sup>

On October 10, 1774, the southern division of Lord Dunmore’s army faced a group of Shawnee Indians in a fierce battle on the banks of the Ohio and Kanawha rivers at Point Pleasant. Led by Colonel Andrew Lewis of Botetourt, the southern army was composed of militias from the Augusta, Botetourt, and Fincastle counties, along with militiamen from Dunmore County, Bedford County, Culpeper, and Kentucky.<sup>2</sup> These men set out on the journey from their homes, primarily located in the upper Shenandoah Valley, months earlier. Rendezvousing on the “Levels” of the Greenbrier Valley at Camp Union in late summer, they then traveled west through roughly 160 miles of Appalachian terrain to reach the Ohio River.<sup>3</sup> The battle at Point Pleasant began at sunrise on October 10 and lasted most of the day with the colonial army finally declaring victory as the sun set (see Figure 35).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Sons of the mountains” is a phrase taken from “The Battle Song of the Great Kanawha.” See, Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds. *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774* (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 436.

<sup>2</sup> Fincastle County existed from 1772-1776 when it was renamed and divided into the counties of Montgomery, Washington, and Kentucky County.

<sup>3</sup> The “Levels” and Camp Union became the site of Lewisburg, WV, in 1782. The “Levels” were also known as the “Big Levels” or “Great Levels” to distinguish from the “Little Levels,” which are located farther north in the Greenbrier River Valley.

<sup>4</sup> William Fleming, “Orderly Book, Journal of the Expedition,” in *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 343; Numerous accounts reference the battle lasting a full day. See *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 17 November 1774, 2; John Jones, Pension Record W7920, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris. Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements. [www.revwarapps.org](http://www.revwarapps.org) (accessed 24 September 2015). Hereafter, collection cited as SCRWPS.

Although European settlers arrived in the Greenbrier Valley in the 1750s, settlement in the region remained fairly fluid until 1769 because of the volatile situation between Native Americans and backcountry settlers, and official British policy, in the form of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, that abruptly halted legitimate trans-Appalachian settlement (see Figure 9). As discussed in Chapter II, while these shared experiences and hardships bonded settlers, the uncertainty of backcountry violence meant that there was an ebb and flow of the population as people moved out of the areas when there was a greater threat of Indian attacks. After the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Hard Labor in 1768, the settlement line moved west to the Ohio River, settlers moved into the region again, and the formation of Botetourt County the following year, out of the southern portion of Augusta County, further encouraged western settlement (see Figure 10). After the creation of Botetourt County, settlers surged out of the Shenandoah Valley, across the Allegheny Front of the Eastern Continental Divide, and into the Greenbrier Valley of the Appalachian Plateau – moving westward in a county that stretched to “the waters of the Mississippi” (see Figure 5).<sup>5</sup>

In the early 1770s with the flood of new settlers, John Stuart, in partnership with Sampson and George Mathews, established a store on the Greenbrier River. The Greenbrier store quickly became a gathering place where Greenbrier settlers developed

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<sup>5</sup> “Physiographic Provinces of West Virginia,” West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, <http://www.wvgs.wvnet.edu/www/geology/geolphys.htm> (accessed 17 November 2016); “An Act for dividing the county and parish of Augusta, and for adding certain islands, in the Fluvanna river, to the counties of Albemarle and Amherst,” November 1769, William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, vol. VIII (Richmond: J. & G. Cochran, 1821), 398.

shared traditions, consumption practices, and regional identities through business and social interactions. Chapter III describes their buying and selling of goods as well as their social gatherings since the store also functioned as a tavern where they ate and drank, celebrated holidays, and joined in competitions that fortified the bonds of community. Although settlers in the Virginia backcountry lived in relative isolation, time spent at John Stuart's store, or Matthew Read's short-lived business, unified the residents of the area. Whether purchasing or selling a variety of items, or joining in social activities, settlers strengthened their connection to one another and formed a Greenbrier identity as residents of the Greenbrier Valley, as well as establishing connections beyond the region as part of the backcountry, the American colonies, and even into an Atlantic World.

By 1774, tensions with Native Americans increased again in spite of recent treaties as settlers continued to push against the boundaries of Indian lands. Violence throughout 1774 tested settlers' resolve to remain on their lands in the Greenbrier Valley as previous waves of settlement typically abandoned the region in times of uncertainty, but by 1774, the Greenbrier communities endured. The decision to launch an offensive expedition against the Shawnees in the Ohio Country with a meeting place at Camp Union in Greenbrier brought more settlers and commerce into the community with sutlers peddling their wares at the army encampment. This military expedition was the first time Greenbrier's militiamen were formed into companies specifically from the Greenbrier region for an organized campaign beyond their community, which further solidified their Greenbrier identity. When the tensions of 1774 culminated in the Battle of Point



Pleasant, many Greenbrier and Virginia backcountry men rose to prominence for their actions and received recognition beyond their home counties as Virginians memorialized the battle.

Ultimately, Lord Dunmore's War was a defining moment in the history of the Greenbrier Valley, and the nearly two hundred mile swath of land across present-day West Virginia that eventually became Greenbrier County, as it ensured a growing backcountry community's survival and ability to thrive despite adversity. It brought attention to the Greenbrier and Kanawha River valleys as Lord Dunmore's War was a large-scale engagement on the Virginia frontier, led by Virginia's royal governor, which had imperial and Atlantic implications for British occupation of western territories and westward migration.<sup>6</sup> Even as backcountry militias gathered in the Greenbrier Valley preparing for the expedition to the Ohio, the First Virginia Convention met in Williamsburg and the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. After the battle, Lord Dunmore observed to Lord Dartmouth that backcountry Virginians had "no attachment to place" and that "wandering about Seems engrafted in their Nature;" however, he had just sponsored an event that further cemented Greenbrier Valley settlers' connection to their homes.<sup>7</sup> The trifecta of experiences – settlement, commerce, and warfare prior to 1775 – were vital to the Greenbrier community's survival and

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<sup>6</sup> Glenn F. Williams argues that "although not directly connected to origins of the struggle for American independence[...]the results of Dunmore's War held important consequences that manifested themselves early and throughout that approaching conflict." See Glenn F. Williams, *Dunmore's War: The Last Conflict of America's Colonial Era* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, LLC, 2017), xii-xiii.

<sup>7</sup> Lord Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 371.

cohesiveness and shortly after the Battle of Point Pleasant, Greenbrier settlers soon saw the start of the American Revolution.<sup>8</sup>

### **Daily Life and Rising Tensions**

When backcountry violence escalated at the beginning of 1774, just a few years after John Stuart and Sampson and George Mathews situated a store on the Greenbrier River, Greenbrier settlers did not flee back over the mountains as they had in previous years. Instead, new settlers continued to claim lands in the Greenbrier Valley and further west in the Kanawha Valley even as Indians attacked those who encroached on their lands.<sup>9</sup> By the end of May, backcountry violence reached such proportions that the *Virginia Gazette* published a report that an Indian war was inevitable “as many outrages have lately happened on the frontiers.”<sup>10</sup> The editors also acknowledged the difficulty of trying to determine “whether the Indians or the white people are most to blame” with “the accounts being so extremely complicated.”<sup>11</sup> In spite of intensifying hostilities and fear, Greenbrier Valley residents continued to make improvements on their lands and went on with their lives.

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<sup>8</sup> Published on the front page of the *Virginia Gazette*, “A Country Gentleman” from Boston contrasted the brave and virtuous Virginians at Point Pleasant with the British “enslaving the colonies.” See *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 10 March 1775, supplement, 1; While the true beginning of the American Revolution and rebellion against Britain was distinct from the Battle at Point Pleasant, which was initiated and supported by Virginia’s Royal Governor, historians have considered Lord Dunmore’s War and the significance of this period of backcountry warfare in light of the American Revolution. See Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 157-160; The First Virginia Convention took place in Williamsburg, Virginia, from August 1-6, 1774. The First Continental Congress took place in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, from September 5 to October 26, 1774.

<sup>9</sup> Otis K. Rice, *A History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, WV: Greenbrier Historical Society, 1986), 35.

<sup>10</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 26 May 1774, 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 26 May 1774, 2.

Even as the *Virginia Gazette* published its account of violence in the backcountry, revolutionary fervor directed toward Britain began to boil throughout Virginia. At the end of May, Virginia's House of Burgesses declared a day of fasting and prayer to protest the "hostile Invasion of the city of Boston" and the closing of Boston Harbor.<sup>12</sup> Lord Dunmore, as the King's representative in Virginia, responded by dissolving the House of Burgesses. Historians argue that the resolution for a day of prayer was a strategic move by the younger burgesses to close the courts, thus allowing indebted tobacco farmers to support plans to drive up the price of tobacco through nonexportation while avoiding prosecution, but nonetheless, the juxtaposition of events in Williamsburg and the backcountry is striking.<sup>13</sup> While Virginia's burgesses worked to unify the colony against British policy through nonexportation, Virginia's western residents were seeking support from their royal governor and planning offensive actions against the Shawnees.

In the midst of planning for an expedition to the Ohio Country, daily life in the Greenbrier Valley persisted in a usual manner and the rhythm of Virginia backcountry life continued to be visible in the store records. In 1774, approximately 186 customers made nearly 700 transactions at Stuart's store early in the year, while Matthew Read's business served roughly 100 customers during their six months of business, but the expedition interrupted business through the late summer and fall.<sup>14</sup> In the spring there

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<sup>12</sup> Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. I (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 93-95.

<sup>13</sup> Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 116-118.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel H. Usner provides a detailed discussion of seasonal patterns on the frontier. See "Chapter 5: Farming, Hunting, and Herding," in Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 149-191; Mathews Trading Post Ledger, 1771-1784, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV;

was an influx of animal skins as customers exchanged what they had collected throughout the winter, and at the end of April, Stuart sent 171 deerskins to Staunton.<sup>15</sup> Beginning in May, several customers purchased tobacco, likely brought in from the Piedmont or Tidewater rather than grown locally.<sup>16</sup> In the late summer and fall, typical seasonal patterns were disrupted once preparations for the expedition were underway, but Stuart sold a variety of goods and services to customers serving in the militia who were preparing to head to the Ohio. Stuart was also preparing for the expedition as a captain of one of the Greenbrier Companies of militia.

Through early 1774, Greenbrier men continued their socializing at both the Mathews-Stuart and Read stores. A dozen men downed pints of whiskey purchased from Matthew Read as New Year's approached and continued their shooting matches, and Stuart's store saw an increase in rum sales in late January around the time of Queen Charlotte's birthday celebration.<sup>17</sup> Mid-March again brought an increase in alcohol consumption around the dates which colonists celebrated St. Patrick's Day and the Stamp Act's repeal. Despite increasing uncertainty in the region, these activities maintained the

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Mathews Store Daybook (copy), 1771-1773, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Mathews Store Daybook, 1771-1781, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Matthew Read is spelled alternatively as "Mathew," "Reed," and "Reid"; Matthew Read Journal, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA;

<sup>15</sup> In 1774, Stuart's store averaged forty customers each month; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.

<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of Tobacco in the Shenandoah Valley and backcountry, see Warren Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 207-208.

<sup>17</sup> Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary; In January 1774, thirty-seven people made seventy-four transactions with Read; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781; *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), January 19, 1775, 3; Queen Charlotte's birthday was traditionally celebrated in January although her real birthday was May. See W. T. Lynn, "Cape Charlotte," in *Notes and Queries*, 7th ser., vol. 4 (London: John C. Francis, 1888).

community bonds and encouraged camaraderie as the men who drank together would soon be serving together on the expedition to the Ohio.

While the Mathews-Stuart and Read stores sold a variety of goods to Greenbrier customers, in 1774, practical items needed for backcountry life and warfare were particularly popular. During six months in the Greenbrier Valley, Matthew Read's business sold leggings and breeches, buckles, stockings, and garters, and John Stuart sold many pairs of leggings as well. Leggings were made by wrapping a coarse woolen fabric loosely around the calf and thigh and securing it with garters. Leggings protected men's legs from insects and snakes, in addition to briars and thorns and harsh temperatures, so while leggings had become part of a backcountry man's uniform, along with a hunting shirt, the anticipated march through more than 150 miles of mountainous terrain made them an absolute necessity.<sup>18</sup> Stuart's customers also continued to purchase yards of osnaburg, a coarse linen or hempen cloth, commonly used for hunting shirts, as well as blankets, flints, and powder and lead, which could have been used for day-to-day hunting activities or as an acquisition in preparation for the march to Point Pleasant (see Figures 33-34).<sup>19</sup>

Examining purchases from the Read and Stuart store records combined with the muster rolls from Lord Dunmore's War reveals kinship networks across the backcountry.

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<sup>18</sup> Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 68; J.F.D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. 1 (Dublin: G. Perrin, 1784), 115-116.

<sup>19</sup> Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), 312. For an explanation of frontier clothing, especially hunting shirts, see Neal Thomas Hurst, "'kind of armour, being peculiar to America:' The American Hunting Shirt" (Honor's thesis, College of William and Mary, 2013); Baumgarten, 65-75; Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: John S. Rittenour and Wm. T. Lindsey, 1912), 91.

Greenbrier resident and Stuart's customer, Jeremiah Carpenter, identified in the store records as "Jerry," made purchases from Stuart alongside his brothers Solomon and Thomas.<sup>20</sup> Examining the store accounts, Jerry was probably the most well-known of the three brothers at the Greenbrier store as he recommended Solomon when he established an account and paid Thomas' bill.<sup>21</sup> Thomas also patronized Read's business, though his brothers are not listed in Read's accounts.<sup>22</sup> As young boys in the 1750s, Jerry and Solomon, and likely Thomas although he was not identified by name, were taken captive by the Shawnees and spent nearly a decade with the Indians in the Ohio Country before returning to Virginia in the 1760s.<sup>23</sup> Although the impact of their time with the Shawnees is unknown, all three brothers volunteered for the expedition to the Ohio and served in John Lewis' Botetourt County regiment.<sup>24</sup>

A number of the officers of companies in Dunmore's southern army also had kinship connection across the backcountry, including the Carpenter brothers' captain, John Lewis. The Lewises were the most well-known family involved with Lord Dunmore's War; they were prominent Shenandoah Valley family who were some of the first settlers to arrive in Augusta County in the mid-eighteenth century. John's father was

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<sup>20</sup> Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 408; "List of Capt John Lewis Company of Volunteers," in Craig L. Heath, ed., *The Virginia Papers, Volume 22 of the Draper Manuscript Collection* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2005), 64-65, 74-75; The Carpenter brothers served in John Lewis' Botetourt regiment. Thomas Carpenter was wounded at the Battle of Point Pleasant and received £20 in consideration for his wounds in 1775. See Dunmore's War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775) Collection, Microfilm, Miscellaneous Reel 78, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

<sup>21</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.

<sup>22</sup> Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>23</sup> Ian K. Steele, *Setting all the Captives Free: Capture, Adjustment, and Recollection in Allegheny Country*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 456-457.

<sup>24</sup> For a brief biography of John Lewis of Botetourt, see Warren Skidmore and Donna Kaminsky, *Lord Dunmore's Little War of 1774* (Maryland: Heritage Books, 2002), 129 n.172.

Colonel Andrew Lewis, who commanded the southern army, and his uncle Colonel Charles Lewis, from Botetourt, and cousin John, who was a captain from Augusta, also served on the Point Pleasant expedition.<sup>25</sup> Another example of kinship, this time through marriage, was Colonel William Christian of Fincastle, a veteran of the French and Indian War, whose brother-in-law was Colonel William Fleming, a physician from Botetourt County.<sup>26</sup> Christian, who represented Fincastle in the 1775 Virginia Convention, is perhaps best known for his expedition to the Cherokee towns in 1776 and for marrying Patrick Henry's sister. Even the Mathews brothers themselves, with Sampson coordinating supplies for the Augusta troops as a Quartermaster, and George serving as a captain in the Augusta regiment, provide an example of family connections whether in business or in battle.<sup>27</sup> Backcountry families like these provided mutual support in life's joys and challenges, but intertwined lives on Virginia's frontier also meant greater suffering in loss for a family or community.

In late spring of 1774, the harshness of backcountry life became quite evident to the Kelly family. In early June, the *Virginia Gazette* announced that the Delawares "who profess to be our Friends" informed a militia captain that "a Party of Shawanese were

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<sup>25</sup> Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, appendix E; The Lewises were originally from Augusta, but Andrew's home near present-day Salem, Virginia, was within the boundaries of the recently-formed Botetourt County (established 1769).

<sup>26</sup> William Christian was the son of prominent Shenandoah Valley settler, Israel Christian. William Christian was brother-in-law to Fincastle's William Campbell who had married another one of Patrick Henry's sisters. Christiansburg, Virginia, was named after William Christian in the 1850s. See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 428-430.

<sup>27</sup> Carol Sue Ebel, "First Men: Changing Patterns of Leadership on the Virginia and Georgia Frontiers, 1642-1815" (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 1996), 144; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 160, 223; Joseph Addison Waddell, *Annals of Augusta, County, Virginia, From 1726-1871* (1901; repr., Forgotten Books, 2012), 309-310.

now gone against the Settlement; and it is imagined they will fall upon Green Brier.”<sup>28</sup>

Within a few weeks the *Gazette* published news of an attack resulting in the death of at least one man and several wounded as settlers were advised to stockpile ammunition and provisions.”<sup>29</sup> Walter Kelly lived in the Greenbrier Valley’s Muddy Creek settlement in the early 1770s, but by 1774 he was among the first settlers along the Kanawha River, approximately seventy miles west of Greenbrier near present-day Charleston, West Virginia, where he and others claimed land by right of settlement and improvement (see Figures 35-36).<sup>30</sup> Another settler in the area, John Jones, later recounted that in the spring of 1774 the settlers were “compelled by the incursions of the indians, to take refuge among the inhabitants of Greenbriar.”<sup>31</sup> Knowing an attack was imminent, Kelly sent his family and cattle with those who were returning to the Greenbrier Valley and seeking shelter in the Muddy Creek community; however, he stayed at their home on his land on the Kanawaha. Kelly’s family was still within earshot of their home when gunshots rang out across the mountains and they knew the expected attack had taken place and that Kelly was likely killed.<sup>32</sup> Throughout the spring of 1774, warnings of an

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<sup>28</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 9 June 1774, 2.

<sup>29</sup> Col. William Christian to Capt. Joseph Cloyd, 29 June 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ49, Microfilm, SHSW; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 14 July 1774, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Otis K. Rice, *The Allegheny Frontier: West Virginia Beginnings, 1730-1830* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 69; Walter Kelly’s land claim was at present-day Cedar Grove, West Virginia, which is about 12 miles east of Charleston, West Virginia.

<sup>31</sup> John Jones, Pension Record W7920; Augusta County (Va.) Chancery Causes, 1753-1911; John Levecy & wife vs. John Morris etc., 1804-027. Local Government Records Collection, Augusta Court Records. The Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA. Hereafter, collection cited as LGRC, LVA.

<sup>32</sup> John Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars and other occurances, 1749-1780,” Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA; Major James Robertson of Fincastle reported to William Preston that marauding Indians had “Tomhak’d” Walter Kelly and a servant boy, and carried away a slave girl at his settlement along the Kanawha River. See Major James Robertson to Colonel William Preston, 1 Aug. 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ69, Microfilm, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Hereafter, collection cited as Microfilm, SHSW.



increased Indian presence along the Kanawha River and in the Greenbrier Valley continued.<sup>33</sup> In mid-August, the cattle Kelly sent to Greenbrier with his family continued to provide for their livelihood after his death when his wife sold them to Stuart at the Greenbrier store.<sup>34</sup>

While the threat of Indian attack was elevated, backcountry settlers who were well-accustomed to danger had a network in place to warn settlers if Indians arrived, particularly during the warm months when Indian attack was more likely. Josiah Ramsay, a settler on the Holston River and militiaman in the Point Pleasant battle described the seasonal patterns of the settlers' spycraft.<sup>35</sup> Ramsay wrote that he was steadily engaged as an Indian Spy from May through November each year, but was sometimes sent out as early as March or April, "as anyone acquainted with Indian warfare [will] know that the only time when the frontiers had any piece [sic] was a few months in the winter season" because Indians hunted during the winter months.<sup>36</sup> While the life of an Indian Spy was filled with hardship, "arduous duties," and "privations incident to, and necessarily attendant to the life of a Spy," some Greenbrier men found themselves well-suited to the job.<sup>37</sup> William Smith, who spent more than five months scouting the countryside in 1774, preferred employment as an Indian Spy to that of

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<sup>33</sup> Many settlers described the warmer season as a time when Indian attacks increased and settlers often "forted" and traveled from home to home to plant and harvest crops with some of the group working and others standing guard. See John Patton, Pension Record R8012, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris. SCRWPS; Joseph McClintick, Pension Record R6623, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris. SCRWPS.

<sup>34</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784.

<sup>35</sup> Josiah Ramsay, Pension Record S17036, Transcribed by Will Graves. SCRWPS.

<sup>36</sup> Josiah Ramsay, Pension Record S17036; Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 62,67.

<sup>37</sup> William Smith, Pension Record W6094. Transcribed by C. Leon Harris. SCRWPS; Dunmore's War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm, 164.

militia service and frequently explored “The Trackless Wilderness – the [Allegheny] Mountains and the waters issuing therefrom westward, as far as the Ohio in order to bring intelligence to the frontier Settlements.”<sup>38</sup> Indian Spies were the first line of defense; these men combed the countryside and were assigned designated areas to patrol in their neighborhood communities. Dovetailing John Stuart and Matthew Read’s records with muster rolls and survey records, reveals that several customers at both businesses spent months scouting the areas near their own neighborhood communities.<sup>39</sup>

Even with scouts and warning systems in place, Greenbrier’s Muddy Creek settlement proved to be vulnerable. A few weeks after Walter Kelly’s death along the Kanawha River, his family faced another tragedy when William Kelly, Walter’s brother, was killed, and William’s daughter was taken captive as Indians moved through the Muddy Creek settlement.<sup>40</sup> In the aftermath of the Kelly family’s deaths and captivity, James Robertson wrote that he hoped settlers at Muddy Creek would be able to defend themselves with the help of John Stuart, whose company of men were nearby.<sup>41</sup> In addition to his business partnership with Sampson and George Mathews running the Greenbrier store, John Stuart was a captain in the Greenbrier militia and his men lived

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<sup>38</sup> William Smith, Pension Record W6094.

<sup>39</sup> John Davis spent five months scouting near his home at the Little Levels in the northern Greenbrier Valley, and Robert Davis, who spent more than two months on the lookout for Indians approaching his home in the Muddy Creek community just west of the Levels of Greenbrier. See *Dunmore’s War* (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm; Greenbrier Company Surveys from the Virginia Land Office, 1751-1776, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

<sup>40</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 8 September 1774, 2; Rice, *A History of Greenbrier*, 35-36; Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars”.

<sup>41</sup> Major James Robertson to Colonel William Preston, 1 Aug. 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 104.

near the Levels of Greenbrier, not far from the location of the store, according to local tradition, along the Greenbrier River.<sup>42</sup>

In the aftermath of the attack on Muddy Creek, Indian scouts anticipated the Indians would move on and the immediate danger would pass when they reported they had not seen fresh signs of their presence for several days. John Jones, who retreated from his home on the Kanawha River with Walter Kelly's family only to experience the attack on the Muddy Creek settlement, joined Captain Mathew Arbuckle's company who was building "Fort Arbuckle," also called "Arbuckle's Fort," on Muddy Creek, which was most likely a public militia fort "to guard the inhabitants against further incursions by the Indians" (see Figures 37-38).<sup>43</sup>

### **Mobilizing for an Expedition**

By the early summer of 1774, hostilities between Virginians and Shawnees near present-day Wheeling, West Virginia, escalated further and, after the Indian attacks on the Muddy Creek settlement, any hope of avoiding a full-blown confrontation disintegrated. When Virginia's governor John Murray, the Earl of Dunmore dissolved the House of Burgesses in May 1774, he did so before the delegates renewed the colony's

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<sup>42</sup> Although the documentary record does not identify the store's location in 1771, local tradition states that it was situated just southeast of present-day Lewisburg, West Virginia, on the south side of a narrow section of the Greenbrier River. Tradition also states that the shallows of the river near the store were historically known as Mathews Ford, as a place where settlers crossed the Greenbrier River and a modern road on the north side of the river is named "Mathews Ford." Rice, *A History of Greenbrier*, 101.

<sup>43</sup> John Jones, Pension Record W7920, SCRWPS; Scholars and local historians do not believe that Matthew Arbuckle ever physically owned this property, so the fort was likely a public militia fort. See W. Stephen McBride and Kim A. McBride, *Forting-up on the Greenbrier: Archaeological Investigations of Arbuckle's Fort, 46GB13, Greenbrier County, West Virginia*, (Lexington: Program for Cultural Resource Assessment at University of Kentucky, 1993), 3-4.

militia law, which expired in 1773, and therefore effectively disbanded the colony's militia.<sup>44</sup> Concluding that "the Shortest and most effectual way" to "bring the Indians to terms" was to "raise a body of men and Send them directly to the Shawnese Country," Lord Dunmore utilized an act "against Invasions and Insurrections" which allowed him to call out the militia and sent a circular letter to the county lieutenants giving orders to mobilize the militia in preparation "either to defend that part of the Country or to march to the Assistance of any other, as occasion may require."<sup>45</sup>

After years of skirmishes and defensive measures, Dunmore observed: "acting on the Defensive is Employing our men to very little Purpose" and authorized offensive action against the Shawnees.<sup>46</sup> Dunmore's resolve to act quickly was strengthened by his belief that the Indians "will by no means be diverted from their design of falling upon the back parts of their Country and Committing all the outrages and devastations which will be in their power to effect."<sup>47</sup> Dunmore encouraged the county lieutenants to take "an opportunity of Stricking such a Stroke as might prove decisive" and "compel the Indians to a lasting peace."<sup>48</sup> In return for the colonists' action Dunmore promised his support and offered a word of scorn against the Assembly, which he had recently dissolved, by saying they had not given the matter the attention it deserved. He further demonstrated his commitment by choosing a meeting point for the northern and southern armies at the

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<sup>44</sup> Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. VIII, 508.

<sup>45</sup> Dunmore to Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, *Thwaites and Kellogg, Documentary History*, 379; Lord Dunmore circular letter/to Col. William Preston, 10 June 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ39, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>46</sup> Lord Dunmore to Col. Charles Lewis, 24 July 1774 in "The Preston Papers," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 26, no. 4 (Oct., 1918), 366.

<sup>47</sup> Dunmore circular, Draper Mss., 3QQ39, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>48</sup> Dunmore circular, Draper Mss., 3QQ39, Microfilm, SHSW; Dunmore to Charles Lewis, 24 July 1774, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 366.

fork of the Kanawha and Ohio rivers, supporting the construction of a fort, and providing the militias with ammunition.

Colonel Andrew Lewis, a veteran of the French and Indian War, and Dunmore's appointed commander of the southern branch of the army, noted that backcountry attacks over the years had worn on the settlers so many men were eager to volunteer, but Lewis also expressed frustration that Dunmore assumed the backcountry settlers would willingly plan and execute an expedition.<sup>49</sup> Lord Dunmore himself intended to travel a northern route by way of present-day Wheeling, West Virginia, to the Ohio River and expected Lewis to take a more southerly route up the Kanawha River to the Ohio.<sup>50</sup> Meeting at Lewis' home in Botetourt with Colonels William Fleming, William Preston, and William Christian, Lewis chose the Levels of Greenbrier as the rendezvous point for more than a half-dozen county militias and named the place "Camp Union."<sup>51</sup> Although the reasoning behind Lewis' decision to rendezvous in the Greenbrier Valley is undocumented, Greenbrier was somewhat centrally located for men coming from counties throughout the southern Shenandoah Valley and the "Levels" were a relatively flat area amongst the ridges and valleys of the Alleghenies and provided a suitable place

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<sup>49</sup> Col. Andrew Lewis to Col. William Preston, 12 July 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ62, Microfilm, SHSW; Andrew Lewis is well-known for his service in the American Revolution. Lewis was memorialized throughout Virginia. In 1782, Lewisburg, Greenbrier's county seat, was named after him and in the nineteenth century, the George Washington monument at Virginia's capitol building in Richmond included a statue of Andrew Lewis representing his contributions to colonial Virginia. See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 426-428; Rice, *A History of Greenbrier*, 112; Commonwealth of Virginia, "Capitol Square," Commonwealth of Virginia, [http://www.virginiacapitol.gov/index.php?p=capitol\\_square](http://www.virginiacapitol.gov/index.php?p=capitol_square) (accessed 29 December 2014).

<sup>50</sup> Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. II (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 107.

<sup>51</sup> "Consultation of Officers at Fort Lewis," in "The Preston Papers," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 26, no. 4 (Oct., 1918), 367.

for an encampment. In addition, the Greenbrier Valley was along the route to the Kanawha River, offered access to a number of resources in the form of Lewis' own kinship connections, and perhaps most importantly, the store run by John Stuart and his access to Sampson and George Mathews' commercial networks, which would be a key component in supplying the men on the expedition.

Sampson Mathews, as Quartermaster of the Augusta regiment, met head-on the challenge of supplying the expedition and his commercial networks throughout the backcountry and colony made him uniquely suited for the task of procuring supplies. In addition to his access to valuable and necessary resources, his relationship with Andrew Lewis, prominence in the community, and experience were vital to the successful acquisition and transportation of the enormous quantities of supplies, and are likely the reasons he was selected for such an important role.<sup>52</sup> An additional connection was that Sampson Mathews' son-in-law, Thomas Posey, was the Commissary and Quartermaster General for the entire southern division of Dunmore's army. While Posey did not have Sampson's résumé as a successful merchant, his selection as Commissary was at minimum a result of his access to resources through his well-connected father-in-law. While Mathews and Posey were uniquely suited to serve the southern army as Quartermaster and Commissary, they, like many other backcountry men, were eager to serve in any capacity.

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<sup>52</sup> Virgil Anson Lewis, *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant, Fought Between White Men and Indians at the Mouth* (1909; repr., Forgotten Books, 2012), Appendix E, 28.

As recruitment for the expedition began in earnest, Andrew Lewis discovered that many backcountry men were willing to do “everything in their power to serve the country” and were impatient to set out against the “barbarians.”<sup>53</sup> He noted that in just a few weeks Augusta County lieutenants had raised nearly six hundred men, and the number was growing daily.<sup>54</sup> To further increase the number of volunteers, the officers knew that it was vital to provide protection for the homes and families of the men signing up for the expedition. To address this concern, Lewis called for two companies from Bedford County and two from Pittsylvania, which were the counties east of Botetourt, to be sent to the western frontiers of Botetourt and Fincastle counties “that both our Frontiers may be covered during the Expedition, and our numbers increased.”<sup>55</sup> While some Greenbrier men, like William Smith, continued their scouting duties after Lewis sent recruitment circulars to the county lieutenants, others like Robert Davis, Jacob Lockhart, and Matthew Bracken left their duties as Indian Spies to join Greenbrier companies heading toward the Ohio.<sup>56</sup>

Although offensive action against Indians along the Ohio was desirable to many backcountry settlers, concerns for the safety of their families and monetary compensation

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<sup>53</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 30 June 1774, 2.

<sup>54</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 30 June 1774, 2.

<sup>55</sup> “Consultation of Officers at Fort Lewis,” *VMHB*, 367.

<sup>56</sup> Jacob Lockhart, a Greenbrier resident with land near Muddy Creek, spent 128 days scouring the countryside as an Indian Scout before joining John Stuart’s company as a Private. Robert Davis enlisted as a Private in John Lewis’ company of rangers from Botetourt after completing his scouting duties. Matthew Bracken also spent nearly three months scouting the Greenbrier region before joining Robert McClenachan’s company where he was quickly promoted from Ensign to Lieutenant. See Daniel O’Hara survey, Botetourt County, Greenbrier Company Surveys from the Virginia Land Office, 1751-1776, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA; Dunmore’s War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm, 75, 177, 41, 81.

for the time away from their homes was important. County lieutenants noted the ease of finding recruits because settlers were tired of feeling helpless and were eager to strike out against their adversaries, but the promise of pay for their service was a useful recruitment tool for those who were less motivated by ideas of revenge.<sup>57</sup> Fincastle County's Colonel William Christian wrote to Colonel William Preston that he believed some men would be willing to join the expedition even at the risk of not receiving payment for their service.<sup>58</sup> Christian himself was willing to contribute powder and lead and "a sufficient Quantity of Meat for a month or five weeks" from his personal supplies, even at the risk that he would not be reimbursed, if it would enable the men to act quickly and venture to the Ohio River to construct a fort that "would much alarm the Shawnese."<sup>59</sup> Christian was also concerned that some of the militiamen were so zealous in their hatred for Indians that they were actually disappointed when accounts of additional Indian attacks proved false and delayed the offensive action against the Shawnees.

Captain William Russell of Fincastle County wrote that the settlers along the Holston River, flowing through present-day eastern Tennessee, were poor and nearly ruined because of Indian attacks. Should Holston's men serve without a war actually taking place, Russell noted that though "the pay of the Country as soldiers cannot be thought Adequate to such risques" it might "encourage the People, to stand their Ground."<sup>60</sup> According to the muster rolls, privates who served in the expedition received

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<sup>57</sup> Col. William Christian to Col. William Preston, 22 June 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ42, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>58</sup> Christian to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ42, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>59</sup> Christian to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ42, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>60</sup> Capt. William Russell to Col. William Preston, 13 July 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ64, Microfilm, SHSW.



one shilling and six pence per day, which was roughly the cost of a pair of buttons, handkerchief, or piece of ribbon from Stuart's store.<sup>61</sup> If that pay from the colony was not deemed sufficient compensation, there was also the hope for the spoils of wars as the Shawnees were expected to have a wealth of horses.<sup>62</sup>

Recognizing the expedition as an undertaking that would unify much of Virginia's southern backcountry, Colonel William Preston assured Fincastle's militia that they would not fight alone, but would be joined by western settlers beyond the mountains "whose Bravery they cannot be Doubtfull of, while they Act from the same Motive of Self Defence."<sup>63</sup> Preston was a surveyor, sheriff, and magistrate in Augusta before moving to Smithfield plantation in Fincastle County during the early 1770s.<sup>64</sup> As someone reared in the Virginia backcountry, he was familiar with violence and uncertainty, and he called for Fincastle's volunteers to defend "our Lives and Properties, which have been so long exposed to the Savages; in which they have had too great Success in taking away" as "The Oppertuntty we have so long wished for, is now before us."<sup>65</sup> In a stirring conclusion, Preston asked the men to represent not only their county, but also their colony, as "The Eyes of this & the Neighbouring Colonies are upon us. The Governor of Virginia calls for us, Our County is ready to pay, & support us; & all the Countries behind the great Mountains are willing to join in Assisting us."<sup>66</sup> After years

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<sup>61</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.

<sup>62</sup> Dunmore's War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm; Col. William Preston circular, 20 July 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ139, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>63</sup> Preston circular, Draper Mss., 3QQ139, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>64</sup> Smithfield Plantation is located on the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 430-431.

<sup>65</sup> Preston circular, Draper Mss., 3QQ139, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>66</sup> Preston circular, Draper Mss., 3QQ139, Microfilm, SHSW.

of violence, Preston believed war would be “the only Method of Settling a lasting Peace with all the Indians Tribes Arround us, who on former Occasions have been Urged by the Shawnese to ingage in a War with Virginia.”<sup>67</sup> Preston invoked the blessing of heaven with his words, “Our Cause is good; & theirfore we have the greatest Reason, to hope & expect that Heaven will bless us with Success in the Defence of ourselves & families against a parcel of Murdering Savages.”<sup>68</sup>

Backcountry violence and preparations for the expedition could be paralyzing or all-consuming for many settlers. The *Virginia Gazette* published William Preston’s account of lives lost throughout the summer of 1774, which included several women and girls who were scalped, young boys who were taken prisoner, and a number of scouts, hunters, and surveyors who had disappeared and were presumed dead.<sup>69</sup> As a result of these attacks, many of the inhabitants of Botetourt and Fincastle County had “forted-up” as Indians were seen frequently “in the interior parts of both counties.”<sup>70</sup> Arbuckle’s Fort, located in the Muddy Creek community, was a large stockade structure that could house settlers and serve as a militia garrison. Many other backcountry forts were much smaller and were often simply fortified homes or blockhouses where neighbors huddled together for safety.<sup>71</sup>

Forts were scattered across the frontier landscape and several were constructed by militia regiments throughout the summer of 1774. George Moffatt’s Augusta County

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<sup>67</sup> Preston circular, Draper Mss., 3QQ139, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>68</sup> Preston circular, Draper Mss., 3QQ139, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>69</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 8 September 1774, 2.

<sup>70</sup> Purdie and Dixon, 8 September 1774, 2.

<sup>71</sup> McBride and McBride, *Frontier Defense*, 2.

company spent several months near the head of the Greenbrier River erecting Fort Warwick in present-day Pocahontas County during the early summer, where they were joined by George Mathews' company of Augusta volunteers.<sup>72</sup> From Fort Warwick, the men proceeded about ten miles southwest to construct the Clover Lick Fort farther down the Greenbrier Valley (see Figure 37). Before leaving Clover Lick, many of the militiamen extended their service and volunteered to join the expedition to the Ohio with the understanding that they were able to briefly return to their homes to prepare before returning to Greenbrier.<sup>73</sup>

The officers in Lewis' army were prominent men both in their counties and in the colony's governance, but they were unable to fulfill all of their obligations to the colony in the midst of preparations for the expedition. When the First Virginia Convention met from August 1 to 6, 1774, the delegates from the backcountry counties were conspicuously, but justifiably, absent. Among the delegates were the names of William Christian, Andrew Lewis and his brother Charles, and George Mathews, who were busy preparing for their rendezvous in the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>74</sup> Acknowledging that there "was not a Drop of Blood spilled or an Indian seen" in their community recently, while many neighboring counties suffered greatly, William Preston wrote that his "whole time" was taken up with requests for ammunition and assistance.<sup>75</sup> Several times throughout

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<sup>72</sup> Jacob Gillaspie, Pension Record S3398, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS; William Kennerly, Pension Record S8781, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

<sup>73</sup> Jacob Gillaspie, Pension Record S3398; W. Stephen McBride and Kim Arbogast McBride, "Information," Warwick's Fort, 4 May 2010, <https://sites.google.com/site/warwicksfort/> (2 October 2015); William Kennerly, Pension Record S8781.

<sup>74</sup> Tarter and Scribner, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. I, 219-220.

<sup>75</sup> William Preston to Edward Johnson, 2 August 1774, Preston Family Papers, 1727-1896, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

the summer of 1774, Preston traveled the roughly twenty-five miles through the mountains from his home near present-day Blacksburg, Virginia, to Andrew Lewis' home along the Roanoke River in present-day Salem, Virginia, "on Business of Importance relating to the Defence of the country."<sup>76</sup> These meetings in the Shenandoah Valley, and efforts to coordinate volunteers and supplies for the expedition, easily prevented Lewis and his officers from making the more than two hundred mile journey to Virginia's capitol in Williamsburg for meetings with the other burgesses.

While many militia leaders focused on the defense of their counties and the upcoming expedition and were not able to perform their public duties, their personal lives, like those of all Greenbrier inhabitants, moved forward. In spite of the seemingly overwhelming situation in much of the backcountry, and Preston's observation that there was "nothing but War, Confusion & Consternation in this country" with "inhabitants flying in bands leaving their Farms in Ruin and Desolation," the routine of daily life for backcountry settlers continued.<sup>77</sup> Along with dozens of letters discussing the militia, Indian attacks, and preparations for the expedition, Preston was able to make time for some personal business, writing to a business associate with instructions for the sale of a load of hemp and a discussion about the condition of his recently purchased slaves.<sup>78</sup> In the midst of preparing his regiment, William Christian informed his sister, Nancy

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<sup>76</sup> Preston to Johnson, 2 August 1774.

<sup>77</sup> Preston to Johnson, 2 August 1774.

<sup>78</sup> Preston to Johnson, 2 August 1774.

Fleming, that when he returned from the expedition he intended to move to Botetourt.<sup>79</sup> Even just a few hours before leaving Camp Union, Captain Philip Love dealt with personal business matters, writing to William Preston, who was unable to join the expedition at the last minute because of his wife's health, to ask about lands in Kentucky, specifically "the Survey made for me on the Cantuck," while stating that he did not have time to give a detailed account of the camp and plans.<sup>80</sup> Even as 1774 was a time of heightened tension and even fear, and the expedition against the Shawnees seemed to consume every moment of daily life, the backcountry men in Dunmore's southern division looked to the future and did not expect the events on the Ohio to drastically alter their plans.

### **Camp Union**

By early September 1774, Camp Union and the Levels of Greenbrier were flooded with men from the Valley of Virginia and Virginia's western counties.<sup>81</sup> Colonel William Fleming, a surgeon and physician who served in the British navy and then in George Washington's regiment during the French and Indian War, kept an orderly book and journal, which provides the most comprehensive account of the militia's weeks at

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<sup>79</sup> Col. William Christian to Mrs. William Fleming, 18 Sept. 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Golds Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 205.

<sup>80</sup> Capt. Philip Love to Col. William Preston, 12 Sept. 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ95, Microfilm, SHSW; William Preston was unable to join the expedition because of his wife's health complications after childbirth. See Preston to Johnson, 2 August 1774; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County*, 121; Love was referring to a survey made for him on the Kentucky River; Love to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ95, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>81</sup> Col. William Fleming to his wife, 4 Sept. 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Golds Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 181.

“Camp Union at the big levels of Green Brier,” as the men arrived between late August and mid-September (see Figure 35).<sup>82</sup> When Andrew Lewis reached the Levels on September 1, he found most of the Augusta and Botetourt militias already encamped there.<sup>83</sup> Lewis tallied roughly 1,500 troops from throughout the upper Shenandoah Valley and since they had “a much Larger Number than was Expected,” he proposed leaving those who were “least fit for service” to garrison the small forts nearby.<sup>84</sup>

According to William Fleming’s Orderly Book, the men filled their time with preparations and guard duty. On several days, a few officers and groups of roughly fifty men set out in small parties to patrol the areas that were “thought most likely to discover & Annoy the Enemy.”<sup>85</sup> Another group marched “to the ford of the River Green Briar,” which most likely refers to Mathews Ford located near the site of Stuart’s Greenbrier store, on September 4 to “eschort any Baggage or Brigades” and intended to return the following day if necessary.<sup>86</sup> On another day a group of twenty men scoured the woods two miles around the camp on horseback “in order to dislodge any Scouting Indians & make it safe for the Packhorse men to gather up their horses.”<sup>87</sup> Scouts occasionally found Indians nearby, and Fleming noted that small parties of Indians attacked several

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<sup>82</sup> William Fleming, “Colonel William Fleming’s Journal,” in *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 281; Thwaites and Kellogg, 428-429; The “Levels” are also known as the “Big Levels.”

<sup>83</sup> Col. Andrew Lewis to Col. William Preston, 8 Sept. 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ93, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>84</sup> A. Lewis to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ93, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>85</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 313.

<sup>86</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 313; Rice, *A History of Greenbrier*, 32, 101; Although the ford crossing the Greenbrier River may have been Mathews Ford located near the Mathews’ store, both days are blank in the store records.

<sup>87</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 314.

nearby forts of “country People” while the militia was encamped at Greenbrier.<sup>88</sup>

Fleming described these instances of Indian attacks as groups of three or four Indians coming into the area “to do what mischeif was in their power” and then returning home with as many horses as they could gather.<sup>89</sup>

The Indians were not the only ones accused of “mischief,” and maintaining order in the camp was a challenge. While Colonel William Fleming could exercise some control over the Botetourt regiments, he hoped the officers of other regiments would “read to their men every order by which their conduct [was] to be regulated” to prevent disorder in the camp.<sup>90</sup> Fleming also asked that the officers “exert themselves in preventing the men of their respective [Companies] from the infamous practice of shooting away their Ammunition” as they could not distribute more if it continued to be wasted.<sup>91</sup> The residents of the Greenbrier Valley were intrigued by the bustling camp, and William Christian was concerned that in the wake of reports of Indians in the area that “somebody would be killed in the naighbourhood as people travels about very Car[el]lessly Tho it may be they [are] come to watch the motions of the army only.”<sup>92</sup> Whether through Indian attacks, wasted ammunition, or curious onlookers, the

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<sup>88</sup> Col. William Fleming to his wife, 4 Sept. 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Golds Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905, repr; Forgotten Books, 2012), 182; Fleming, “Journal,” 282.

<sup>89</sup> Fleming, “Journal,” *Documentary History*, 282.

<sup>90</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 313.

<sup>91</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 313.

<sup>92</sup> Col. William Christian to Col. William Preston, 12 Sept. 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Golds Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 198.

Greenbrier encampment had the potential for complete chaos, and daily the numbers increased as additional volunteers streamed into the camp.

As men arrived in the Greenbrier Valley, the commissaries and quartermasters gathered supplies for the regiments, while merchants and sutlers benefited from selling goods the men needed, and even some they did not. Sutlers in Greenbrier took advantage of having so many men camped in one place, and peddled their wares, especially liquor and rum at Camp Union, much to the chagrin of Fleming and other officers.<sup>93</sup> Expressing concern about the sutlers, Fleming noted that they were “forbid[den] distributing Liquors in such Quantities as will make any of the Troops drunk – otherwise a totall stop will be put to the Retailing of Liquors.”<sup>94</sup> Although the abundance of alcohol was a concern, William Preston recognized that merchants would be able to sell more utilitarian wares, like blankets, leggings, kettles, drawing knives, and ammunition, to the militiamen.<sup>95</sup> Stuart’s store records reveal that he also benefitted from the influx of people in the area and during August and the first two weeks of September he sold cuttoe knives, shoe soles, blankets, handkerchiefs, flint, a pack saddle, tobacco, and gun locks to men preparing to march to the Ohio. In addition, several customers had their horses shod, which was crucial for preparing the horses to transport themselves or supplies.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 328.

<sup>94</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 316.

<sup>95</sup> Preston to Johnson, 2 August 1774; “Mr. Donald” most likely refers to merchants James and Robert Donald. See Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 24.

<sup>96</sup> See entries for August and September of 1774 in Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.



Lewis knew that recruitment alone was not enough for a successful expedition and that acquiring and moving supplies was vitally important. Acknowledging the difficulty of obtaining and moving supplies in the backcountry, Lewis wrote that had Lord Dunmore seen the preparations he would be “much surprised at our backwardness.”<sup>97</sup> While many volunteers readily committed to the cause, the number of militiamen also warranted “an Equal addition of Provitions,” and a group of men in charge of transporting supplies to the Ohio.<sup>98</sup> Commissary Thomas Posey and Quartermaster Sampson Mathews worked to gather supplies for the expedition throughout the summer, but as the first wave of militia left Camp Union in early September, William Christian asked Posey “to hurry out all the flour possible” by the time the 400 packhorses sent to the Ohio with the first group returned. As each company prepared to march, they were given flour, salt, tools, kettles, and “¼ lb. powder and ½ ball” for each man.<sup>99</sup> Acquiring supplies and moving them to Greenbrier was the first hurdle while maneuvering them out of Camp Union for the expedition and keeping track of hundreds of packhorses and cattle in the Appalachian terrain was another challenge.<sup>100</sup>

After weeks of preparations, the first group to leave Camp Union was that of Andrew Lewis’ brother Colonel Charles Lewis, who left on September 6 with roughly six hundred men from “the greatest part of the Augusta troops and Arbuckles [Company]

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<sup>97</sup> Col. Andrew Lewis to Col. William Preston, 12 July 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ62, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>98</sup> A. Lewis to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ93, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>99</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 314.

<sup>100</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 316.

from Botetourt.”<sup>101</sup> They took with them all the Cattle collected there at that time,” totaling 108 “Beeves” according to William Christian, and four hundred packhorses loaded with supplies.<sup>102</sup> Many Greenbrier men were tasked with driving the packhorses loaded with supplies. While some men drove the packhorses through the Virginia mountains for just a few weeks before moving to other duties, others were tasked with driving the packhorses for the duration of the expedition.<sup>103</sup> The journey from Camp Union to the Indian towns near Point Pleasant was about 160 miles and took several weeks to travel (see Figure 35).<sup>104</sup> John Stuart described the “mountainous and rugged” route and the need to blaze a trail as they went along, writing, “At the time we commenced our march no track or path was made.”<sup>105</sup> The men left the Levels of Greenbrier and followed the Greenbrier River to the New River, then headed west across Gauley Mountain before winding along the Kanawha River, crossing the Gauley and Elk rivers, and finally reaching the forks of the Ohio.<sup>106</sup>

Almost one week after his brother left, Colonel Andrew Lewis left Camp Union and began his trek toward the Ohio along with Colonel William Fleming, men from the Augusta and Botetourt companies, and additional cattle and packhorses.<sup>107</sup> John Stuart

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<sup>101</sup> Fleming, “Journal,” *Documentary History*, 282; Christian to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ92, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>102</sup> Col. William Christian to Col. William Preston, 7 Sept. 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ92, Microfilm, SHSW; Fleming, “Journal,” *Documentary History*, 282.

<sup>103</sup> *Dunmore’s War* (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm.

<sup>104</sup> Christian to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ92, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>105</sup> Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars”.

<sup>106</sup> Joseph Johnson, Pension Record S31782, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris SCRWPS; John F. Winkler, *Point Pleasant, 1774: Prelude to the American Revolution* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2014), 49.

<sup>107</sup> William Christian to William Preston, 12 September 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Golds Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 196; Christian to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ92, Microfilm, SHSW.

was among Fleming's Botetourt County men with his company from the Greenbrier Valley along with George Mathews' company, although there are contradicting reports about when Mathews actually made the journey.<sup>108</sup> Colonel William Christian left Greenbrier with his regiment a few days later and joined the others near the mouth of the Elk River determined he "would not for all I am worth be behind crossing the Ohio" that they should "miss lending our Assistance."<sup>109</sup> Christian's men were encumbered with the remainder of the supplies and cattle, but after years of tension and months of preparation, Christian knew his men were eager to participate and believed they "would all turn home if they thought they could not be with the fore most."<sup>110</sup>

Even as the majority of the southern army moved westward after spending weeks at the Levels, men continued arriving in Greenbrier to join the expedition. J. F. D. Smyth stated that he accompanied Andrew Lewis' son John from Maryland, across the Potomac and through Fredericksburg to Staunton.<sup>111</sup> Arriving in late September, Smyth described Staunton as "a pretty large town, considering it lies beyond the mountains" and noted its

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<sup>108</sup> The Mathews Store Ledger abruptly ends on September 10, 1774, and does not start again until early November because John Stuart, who was the clerk for the Greenbrier store, was at Point Pleasant; Lewis to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ93, Microfilm, SHSW; Christian to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ146, Microfilm, SHSW; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 413-414; J. F. D. Smyth reported that he traveled with George and Sampson Mathews to Point Pleasant and that they departed from Staunton on September 29, arrived in Greenbrier on October 3, and then at Point Pleasant on October 10. See J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour of the United States of America*, vol. II (London: G. Robinson, 1784).

<sup>109</sup> Christian to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ92, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>110</sup> Christian to Preston, Draper Mss., 3QQ92, Microfilm, SHSW; While the commanding officers may have felt that the majority of the troops supported the cause, there were certainly some who did not, and William Fleming noted in his orderly book that desertion and "thefts of Flower & provisions" had been "pretty frequent" since the left Greenbrier. See Fleming, "Orderly Book," *Documentary History*, 335.

<sup>111</sup> Smyth became acquainted with the Lewis family when John Lewis married a "considerable planter's daughter in my neighborhood" in Maryland in the early 1770s. See Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. II, 141-142.

“brisk inland trade” in the hands of George and Sampson Mathews.<sup>112</sup> Leaving Staunton about September 29, Smyth wrote that he and Lewis were joined by the Mathews on their journey to Greenbrier. Smyth’s account of the trip provides insight into the challenges the brothers experienced transporting goods to their own store, but also coordinating the acquisition and movement of supplies for the militia through what he described as “a country extremely rough, rocky, and mountainous.”<sup>113</sup> The men traveled from Staunton, cutting west along a route that approximately parallels present-day I-64 and entering the Greenbrier Valley at Howard’s Creek.<sup>114</sup> Smyth wrote that the “journey was extremely fatiguing, and by no means agreeable,” but they had “met with inhabitants all the way, and better accommodations than could be expected in that remote part of the country.”<sup>115</sup> They arrived in Greenbrier within four days of leaving Staunton, and found “the whole settlement in confusion” as the companies were in the process of moving out.<sup>116</sup>

On October 1, 1774, there were still men at Camp Union waiting to depart for Point Pleasant. A variety of delays, including waiting for the packhorses returning from the west, and retrieving more supplies from the Warm Springs, which was about halfway

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<sup>112</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. II, 156. Based on Smyth’s account, even at this late date, the Mathews were still in Staunton rather than at Camp Union or their Greenbrier store, which would mean that when George Mathews’ company left weeks earlier, they did so without him; George Mathews was a delegate to the 1774 Convention from Augusta County. While there is no evidence attesting to his attendance, it is possible that George was still in Staunton because of political duties that kept him away from his company who spent the summer at Fort Warwick. See Tarter and Scribner, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. I, 219-220.

<sup>113</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. II, 157.

<sup>114</sup> Smyth included various geographic markings for the route (see Figure 4), including crossing the Great North Mountain, and the Calfpasture, Cowpasture, and Jackson’s River, which help identify this route. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. II, 157.

<sup>115</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. II, 157.

<sup>116</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. II, 158.

to Staunton, had prevented them from setting out.<sup>117</sup> Major Anthony Bledsoe, William Christian's commissary, expressed concern about the supplies at the Warm Springs as well as a possible need to send packhorses all the way to Staunton for flour. In a rare instance the Mathews' networks had failed them and Bledsoe reported that "Mr. Mathews Writes it quite [out] of his power" to send it.<sup>118</sup> Not surprisingly, Bledsoe remarked to William Preston, "I Judge every person finds the Expedition more tedious then it was generally expected" after the various challenges of acquiring supplies and provisions.<sup>119</sup>

In addition to his role as Quartermaster of the Augusta regiment, Sampson Mathews was also given the title of "Master driver of cattle" indicating the importance of livestock for the expedition.<sup>120</sup> Mathews likely directed the acquisition and transportation of the 108 cattle that left Greenbrier with Charles Lewis in early September, though it is unlikely that he physically drove the cattle through the mountains himself both due to his duties in Staunton, and J. F. D. Smyth's account of his travels with the Mathews.<sup>121</sup> While at Camp Union, the cattle were free to wander in the woods and fields nearby and undoubtedly caused much of the damage to cornfields cited by nearly a dozen settlers along the Greenbrier River and Sinkholes area who submitted public service claims for damage to their lands, specifically their corn fields, during the following year.<sup>122</sup> As the first companies prepared to march, Thomas Posey ordered the commissaries to find a

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<sup>117</sup> The "Warm Springs" are in present-day Warm Springs, VA, in Bath County.

<sup>118</sup> Anthony Bledsoe to Col. William Preston, 1 Oct., 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ108, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>119</sup> Bledsoe to Preston, 1 Oct., 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ108, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>120</sup> Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 223.

<sup>121</sup> Col. William Christian to Col. William Preston, 7 Sept. 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ92, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>122</sup> Dunmore's War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm; See the land surveys for Michael Daugherty, William Johnston, John Clark, Thomas Gillispie, and Garret Green in Greenbrier Company Surveys from the Virginia Land Office, 1751-1776, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

place for a guarded pasture and slaughtering pen near Camp Union, so they could kill the animals by a method other than using their already scarce ammunition in preparation for their journey.<sup>123</sup> Several of the men identified as customers at Read's store the previous spring drove cattle to the Ohio and while some only stuck with the task a couple days, others spent weeks herding the "Beeves" during the expedition.<sup>124</sup>

When Lewis' army began their march, Walter Crockett's company from Fincastle County was tasked with moving supplies – particularly the cattle – across the more than 150 miles to Point Pleasant.<sup>125</sup> Fourteen year old John Canterbury volunteered for the expedition specifically to "assist in driving Cattle for the supply of the Army" and Joseph Duncan reported that he was appointed to "gard the Beeves" while encamped at the Levels and again along the route to the Ohio.<sup>126</sup> Others described the frustrations and challenges of moving the supplies, including the beef on the hoof, from Camp Union to Point Pleasant as Crockett's company brought up the rear "with the Beeves and Baggage."<sup>127</sup> The men reached the Gauley River to find that no canoes had been left for

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<sup>123</sup> Col. William Christian to Col. William Preston, 12 Sept. 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Golds Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., Forgotten Books, 2012), 196; Fleming, "Orderly Book," *Documentary History*, 316.

<sup>124</sup> James Morrow of Robert McClenachan's company and William O'Hara of John Stuart's company drove cattle for a couple days. Joseph Campbell was a "cattle drover" for several months. See *Dunmore's War* (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm.

<sup>125</sup> Now the area of Wythe County. See Skidmore and Kaminsky, *Lord Dunmore's Little War of 1774*, 163; Fleming, "Orderly Book," *Documentary History*, 163-164; There are several Pension Records from Crockett's Wythe County company referencing their task of guarding and herding the cattle. See Joseph Duncan, Pension Record S1809; John Canterbury, Pension Record R1667; Joseph Johnson, Pension Record S31782.

<sup>126</sup> John Canterbury, Pension Record R1667, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS; Joseph Duncan, Pension Record S1809, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

<sup>127</sup> Joseph Johnson, Pension Record S31782.

them, so the three or four rear companies spent a day “swimming their beeves and getting their baggage over on rafts.”<sup>128</sup>

As William Fleming prepared for his departure from Greenbrier, he reassured his wife Nancy that tracking the militia would fully occupy any Indians in the area and keep them from attacking settlements east of the Greenbrier Valley during the expedition.<sup>129</sup> Despite that reassurance, Lewis’ officers made arrangements for the guards to remain stationed at frontier forts throughout the expedition.<sup>130</sup> Bedford County volunteer, Joseph Hundley, passed Arbuckle’s Fort near Muddy Creek on his way to and from Point Pleasant, and he reported that the fort was under the command of Captain William Leftwich’s company from Bedford County.<sup>131</sup> Fifty miles north of Camp Union at Fort Warwick, William Kennerly, whose Augusta company helped build the fort in early June, was stationed with a garrison of sixteen men while the rest of the company marched to Point Pleasant.<sup>132</sup> There were also men who remained at Camp Union to guard the magazines holding flour and ammunition and care for those who had fallen ill and were unfit for battle.<sup>133</sup> Major Anthony Bledsoe noted the need for a hospital and doctor “as

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<sup>128</sup> Joseph Johnson, Pension Record S31782.

<sup>129</sup> Col. William Fleming to his wife, 4 Sept. 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Golds Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 181.

<sup>130</sup> Col. William Christian to Col. William Preston, 12 Sept. 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Golds Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 198.

<sup>131</sup> The pension records reveal that Christian’s plans to continue protecting the frontier forts along Greenbrier while the men left for the expedition were carried out. Reece Morgan, Pension Record W4297, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS; Joseph Hundley, Pension Record S5581, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

<sup>132</sup> William Kennerly, Pension Record S8781.

<sup>133</sup> James Gilmore, Pension Record S30432, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS; Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 328.

all the sick from the [w]hole regiment is left here [at Camp Union], which renders [my] stay very disagreeable.”<sup>134</sup>

The nearly empty camp of guards and sick men were what J. F. D. Smyth and his travel companions, including the Mathews brothers, beheld when they arrived in Greenbrier around October 3 and quickly pushed on toward the Kanawha to catch up with the others.<sup>135</sup> Smyth and his comrades joined the rest of the southern army at the camp on the Great Kanawha on October 7 after “four severe days journey” at the rate of forty miles a day, while the rest of the army had traveled ten to fifteen miles a day.<sup>136</sup> Reaching the encampment at the fork of the Great Kanawha and Ohio River, Smyth described the camp as “a scene of confusion and filth, with only a very slender appearance of military order and discipline.”<sup>137</sup> On that same day, Colonel William Fleming noted the need for constructing shelters to hold the supplies as well as necessary houses, to prevent the camp from becoming “foul & sickly.”<sup>138</sup>

### **The Battle on the Ohio**

On October 10, 1774, just before sunrise, two men, including James Mooney who was one of the scouts for the expedition and one of the hunters who sold deerskins to

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<sup>134</sup> Likely a result of unsanitary conditions after so many men encamped in one place for weeks. See Bledsoe to Preston, 1 Oct., 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ108, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>135</sup> Smyth’s account that Captain John Lewis was ill has not been verified. Smyth goes on to say that he himself took command of Lewis’ company; however that has not been verified either (and there is some evidence to the contrary). See Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 159; Skidmore and Kaminsky, *Lord Dunmore’s Little War of 1774*, 129.

<sup>136</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 159. For mileage and arriving at the camp, see Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 335-337.

<sup>137</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 161.

<sup>138</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 339.



Stuart's Greenbrier store in 1773, discovered a group of Indians camped within a few miles of Lewis' army.<sup>139</sup> While the other man was killed, Mooney made it back to the camp and reported to his commanding officer William Russell that he had seen "above five acres of land covered with Indians, as thick as they could stand one beside another."<sup>140</sup> Two men from Captain Evan Shelby's Company quickly confirmed the account. The Indians, a group of Shawnees joined by Delawares and Mingos, had traveled sixty miles up the Scioto River and crossed the Ohio River on rafts they created by chopping down trees on the riverbank.<sup>141</sup> This had all been done the previous night "with the utmost secrecy" and the intention of surprising the Virginians.<sup>142</sup>

When the Virginia men heard the alarm on the morning of October 10, they hurriedly formed into two columns and marched out of camp, but soon "were forced to quit their ranks & fly to trees."<sup>143</sup> Traditional fighting in formation was impossible to maintain and totally ineffective in the tree laden mountainous terrain. The style of fighting used by both Virginia's backcountry men and the Indians allowed both sides to withstand hours of combat and became a distinctly American method of warfare throughout the colonial period.<sup>144</sup> Smyth noted that it was also a manner of fighting in

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<sup>139</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 10 November 1774, 2; Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars"; James Mooney had accompanied Daniel Boone during his failed hunting expedition in Kentucky in 1769 prior to coming to the Greenbrier Valley. See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 271-272, 328.

<sup>140</sup> Isaac Shelby to John Shelby, 16 Oct., 1774 in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 271-272; Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars".

<sup>141</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 163-164.

<sup>142</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 164.

<sup>143</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 165; William Fleming was wounded early in the battle and unable to write, so the Orderly Book entries describing the battle and its aftermath were made by John Todd. See Fleming, "Orderly Book," *Documentary History*, 340-342.

<sup>144</sup> The style of fighting from behind trees and brush was particularly effective for the French and Indians fighting against General Braddock during the Seven Years' War, and had been adopted by many frontier

which “officers are of less service and consequence; as here appeared to be no [maneuvers], no turning of flanks, no charging with bayonets, for nothing was seen or heard but a perpetual popping from all quarters; and one side could not attempt to turn the flank of the other, because they could immediately extend it as far as that of the first.”<sup>145</sup> Echoing earlier concerns from Camp Union about wasting ammunition, Smyth wrote that the backcountry men were “by no means as frugal of powder and ball, which they wasted without much regard to aim” while the Indians fired carefully and “seldome threw away any of their shot promiscuously.”<sup>146</sup>

The battle had begun and fierce clashes between the two sides continued throughout the day. With men taking cover and shooting from behind trees and brush, the battle lasted from morning until the sun began to set when the Virginians finally dislodged the Indians from the steep banks and tree cover and forced them to retreat across the Ohio, carrying off their dead and wounded as they went.<sup>147</sup> Walter Crockett’s company was still en route when they received word that a battle was taking place. The officers ordered “that the Beeves and baggage be left and a forced march commenced” and they reached the battlefield as the sun began to set.<sup>148</sup>

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fighters. Historian John Grenier describes the eighteenth-century colonial frontier as the proving ground of this type of “petite guerre” strategy, which became America’s “First Way of War.” See John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American Warmaking on the Frontier, 1607-1814* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 10-12.

<sup>145</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 166.

<sup>146</sup> Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 165-166.

<sup>147</sup> Isaac Shelby to John Shelby, 16 Oct., 1774 in *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 277; Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 343; Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 168-169.

<sup>148</sup> Joseph Johnson, Pension Record S31782; Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 346. Christian sent fifty men back to gather the cattle they left behind in the days following the battle.

Once the battle ended, as the Virginians faced the task of caring for their wounded comrades. Isaac Shelby wrote that the “groans of our wound[ed] men lying around was Enough to shudder the stoutest hart.”<sup>149</sup> In the aftermath, those who were not injured began construction on a fort to hold the sick and wounded, collected the plunder strewn about the battlefield, gathered the cattle left to wander during the battle, and buried their slain comrades.<sup>150</sup> John Todd, who took over William Fleming’s orderly book as Fleming was among the wounded and unable to write for several days, hoped that the companies would quickly build a stockade “for the Security of their brave wounded Companions” and their own safety, and to carry out Lord Dunmore’s orders to build a fort at the fork of the Kanawha and Ohio rivers.<sup>151</sup>

Colonel William Fleming was the most well-known among the injured men, and his wounds were so severe that rumors of his death circulated in the *Virginia Gazette* alongside the first accounts of the battle.<sup>152</sup> William Christian reported that Fleming was hit three times then stepped away “with great coolness and deliberation” and told his men

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<sup>149</sup> I. Shelby to J. Shelby, 16 Oct., 1774, *Documentary History*, 277; Numerous accounts describe the battle lasting a full day. See Samuel Gwinn, Pension Record S17992, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS; Samuel Vance, Pension Record S1882, Transcribed by Will Graves, SCRWPS; George Doherty, Pension Record S1807, Transcribed by Will Graves, SCRWPS.

<sup>150</sup> John Todd reported that the men collected spoils of war strewn about the battlefield, including “23 Guns 80 Blankets 27 Tomahawks with Match coats Skins Shout [shot] pouches pow[d]erhorns Warclubs &c. The Tomhaws guns & Shout pouches were sold & amounted to near 100.” See Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 345-347.

<sup>151</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 352; Dunmore circular, Draper Mss., 3QQ39, Microfilm, SHSW; The first fort built at this location was quite flimsy and was soon replaced by a sturdier palisade and blockhouses (as Fort Blair in 1774-1775) and later was rebuilt with a stockade, blockhouses, and cabins (as Fort Randolph in 1776-1777). See “Fort Randolph,” in Virgil A. Lewis, ed., *Biennial Report of the Department of Archives and History of the State of West Virginia* (Charleston: The Tribune Printing Company, 1906), 236-239.

<sup>152</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 10 Nov. 1774, 4.

“not to mind him but to up and fight.”<sup>153</sup> Fleming, who was also a surgeon, provided more details about his injury, writing that he “received three balls In the left Line two struck my left arm below the Elbow broke both the bones, & I find one of them is lodged in my arm. a third entered my breast about three Inches below my left Nipple and is lodged some where in the Chest.”<sup>154</sup> He went on to provide more gruesome details about the exact nature of his injuries, and described seeing his lungs “forced through the wound in my breast, as long as one of my fingers.”<sup>155</sup> One of his attendants was able to help him return his protruding organs to their appropriate place, and although “in considerable pain, some time afterwards,” he eventually found himself “in a surprising state of ease. Nor did I ever know such daingerous wounds, Attended with so little inconvenience, and yet the wounds in my arm are in a bad condition.” Fleming gave his wife Nancy substantially fewer details about his wounds, writing that he “receivd three balls two through my left Arm, & one in my left breast, but I praise the Almighty, I did not fall and had strength with Assistance to reach my tent[...].”<sup>156</sup>

The men quickly began work on a fortification to protect the wounded men and allow them to establish a garrison at Point Pleasant. The fort, named Fort Blair, which was completed by mid-November, had blockhouses at two corners with a small palisade.<sup>157</sup> In addition to designing the fort and overseeing construction, Captain

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<sup>153</sup> Christian to Preston, 15 Oct., 1774, *Documentary History*, 265.

<sup>154</sup> Col. William Fleming to William Bowyer, undated, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 309.

<sup>155</sup> Fleming to Bowyer, undated, *Documentary History*, 309.

<sup>156</sup> Col. William Fleming to Nancy Fleming, undated, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 253.

<sup>157</sup> Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 310.

William Russell was to remain at the fort with fifty men until he received more permanent instructions from Williamsburg.<sup>158</sup> After receiving his orders to stay at Point Pleasant, Russell wrote to William Preston discussing the need for supplies, which would be brought from “the Levels of Green Briar.”<sup>159</sup> Russell also addressed his post as commander at Fort Blair and concern for his family, writing “When I came to this Place I had not the least thought of remaining here” but he applied to Dunmore requesting “a Post, if any should be Establish’d at the Falls, or Kentuckey,” and in the meantime was assigned to remain at Point Pleasant.<sup>160</sup> Russell thanked Preston, writing “This favour done me, lays me under the most lasting obligation to you, and am sorry that my sincere thanks is all I can return, at this time for so lasting a favour done me wh[ich] I trust in god may be of service to my helpless family who do look upon it as such intended by you.”<sup>161</sup> Although the particular state of Russell’s “helpless family” or their survival while he was stationed hundreds of miles away are unknown, Russell continued at Fort Blair for six months and his letter to Preston is both a reminder of the role of militia service and the hardships of backcountry life.

In addition to the physical labor of building a fort, burying the wounded, and gathering more provisions, the men also faced the reality of reorganizing their companies and officers to replace those who died. Fleming’s Orderly Book lists several men who

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<sup>158</sup> Col. William Christian to Col. William Preston, 8 November 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr, London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 303.

<sup>159</sup> Capt. William Russell to Col. William Preston, 12 November 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore’s War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr, London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 309.

<sup>160</sup> Russell to Preston, 12 November 1774, *Documentary History*, 310.

<sup>161</sup> Russell to Preston, 12 November 1774, *Documentary History*, 310.

succeeded their fallen leaders, as well as an address from Andrew Lewis to the Augusta troops about the loss of Colonel Charles Lewis, Andrew's youngest brother, who was the highly respected and admired commander of the Augusta militia. Andrew addressed the troops, saying, "The Augusta line & I have too much reason to condole with one another. You have lost your brave leader & I in him have lost the best of Brothers."<sup>162</sup> Offering more insights into Charles Lewis' death, William Christian reported that "Lewis was shot in clear ground as he had not taken a tree when speaking to his men to come on. He turned and handed his gun to a man telling to more as he passed along 'I am wounded, but go on and be brave.'"<sup>163</sup>

Just a few days after the battle, Lewis received instructions from Dunmore to prepare to cross the Ohio and travel to the Indian towns for a final confrontation.<sup>164</sup> Andrew Lewis left a garrison of 300 men at the newly constructed fort at Point Pleasant and marched toward the Shawnee Towns on the Scioto River a week after the battle.<sup>165</sup> While en route, Lewis received word that Lord Dunmore had secured peace with the Indians. The Treaty of Camp Charlotte included the conditions that the Indians deliver any prisoners to the Virginians, restore any valuables and horses they had captured, agree to trade by the King's instructions, and most importantly for Greenbrier settlers, that they

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<sup>162</sup> Fleming, "Orderly Book," *Documentary History*, 348.

<sup>163</sup> William Christian to William Preston, 15 October 1774, Box 1, Reel 1, Campbell-Preston-Floyd Families Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

<sup>164</sup> Fleming, "Orderly Book," *Documentary History*, 348; Dunmore was camped about fifty miles north of Point Pleasant near the present-day Hocking River (known as the "Hohocking River" in the 18<sup>th</sup> century) with 800 or 900 men. See Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 162.

<sup>165</sup> I. Shelby to J. Shelby, 16 Oct., 1774, 277; Col. William Christian to Col. William Preston, 15 Oct., 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 263; Joseph Hundly, Pension Record S5581, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

“should not hunt on our Side the Ohio, nor molest any Boats passing thereupon.”<sup>166</sup> The official report from Andrew Lewis’ southern army states that as Lewis turned from the route to the Shawnee Towns and marched to meet Lord Dunmore, the guide mistook the route and led the southern army close to the Indian towns, which caused great alarm and left Lewis scrambling to explain the error.<sup>167</sup> Joseph Doddridge, a contemporary who wrote about the early frontier, presented a more emotional account, stating that in spite of establishing peace, “It was with the greatest reluctance and chagrin” that Andrew Lewis’ troops withdrew from the Ohio Country. The widespread violence and loss of “their relatives and friends at the big Levels and muddy Creek, and above all, their recent loss [of life] at the battle of the Point had inspired these big knives, as the Indians called the Virginians, with an inveterate thirst for revenge,” which they hoped would be quenched by the destruction of the Indian towns along the Scioto River.<sup>168</sup> Lord Dunmore’s order was met “with every expression of regret and disappointment,” although it was obeyed.<sup>169</sup>

### **After the Battle**

Writing in early November, nearly one month after the battle at Point Pleasant, William Christian reported “the Army is now scattered from Elk to the levels, perhaps from Point Pleasant to the Warm Springs, all in little Companys.”<sup>170</sup> Even as men

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<sup>166</sup> Dunmore to Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, *Thwaites and Kellogg, Documentary History*, 386; Virgil Anson Lewis, *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant*, 56; Patrick Griffin, *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 120.

<sup>167</sup> Fleming, “Orderly Book,” *Documentary History*, 356.

<sup>168</sup> Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars*, 233.

<sup>169</sup> Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars*, 234.

<sup>170</sup> Christian to Preston, 8 November 1774, *Documentary History*, 306.

returned home, Greenbrier still functioned as the supply depot for those who remained at the fort on the Ohio. Express riders from Greenbrier transported news and letters, including supply requests, along the route from the Ohio to Greenbrier and further east.<sup>171</sup> One such request from Captain William Russell at Point Pleasant, told of the need for cattle, which were wandering along the route, and flour, supplied from Greenbrier. Russell also requested that Quartermasters and Commissaries Sampson Mathews and Thomas Posey be contacted to coordinate the acquisitions.<sup>172</sup> George Mathews, likely on behalf of his brother and nephew-in-law Posey's involvement with the supplies, worked closely with the packhorse men to account for the horses each evening and fulfill Russell's request.<sup>173</sup>

By November, life in the Greenbrier Valley returned to a more typical pace. The Greenbrier store once again opened its doors on November 7, when John Stuart returned from Point Pleasant.<sup>174</sup> Some customers stopped at the store as they returned to their homes in the Shenandoah Valley while others like Edward Smith, who is identified as a soldier in Stuart's records, and George Clendenin, a schoolmaster, served alongside John

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<sup>171</sup> Greenbrier residents Shadrach Harriman and Peter Vanbibber served as express riders. See Dunmore's War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm.

<sup>172</sup> Capt. William Russell to Col. William Preston, undated [12 Nov., 1774], in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr, London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 309.

<sup>173</sup> Thomas Renick of Greenbrier's Renick family worked as a packhorse master during the expedition; James Newell, "Journal of James Newell Across the Ohio," in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr, London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 367; Thomas Renick was identified as a "packhorse master." See Dunmore's War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm.

<sup>174</sup> Several companies were discharged on November 7. See "Fifth Virginia Convention. Tuesday, May the 21<sup>st</sup>, 1776," in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VII, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 204-205; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.



Stuart and remained in the Greenbrier Valley. Smith purchased a blanket from the store in September prior to leaving for the Ohio, and sundry goods upon his return, while George Clendenin purchased a saddle after the expedition, perhaps to replace one that was damaged or lost at Point Pleasant. Other men from Stuart's Greenbrier company also made purchases that may have replaced war worn items shortly after returning from the battle. Thomas Gillespie picked up a pair of stockings, and Samuel Williams bought shoes as well as a suit of clothes, while Andrew Donnally and Daniel Workman purchased yards of fabric.

The battle was not just a Virginia backcountry or colony-wide event, but one that reverberated throughout the Atlantic World as it validated and further encouraged westward migration. Descriptions of the conflict and the Virginians' victory reached Philadelphia and beyond, including announcements in newspapers in London, Scotland, and Ireland in the following months.<sup>175</sup> While the families of many veterans had been in the American colonies for at least a generation, numerous settlers still had family in Britain who would have sought news from the colonies, particularly information about the loss of life.

Although the Battle of Point Pleasant was a victory for the Virginians and life seemed to return to normal, backcountry settlers still had to cope with the tremendous loss of life. According to several accounts, there were approximately fifty casualties and

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<sup>175</sup> *Caledonian Mercury* (Midlothian, Scotland), 7 January 1775, 2; *Newcastle Chronicle* (Tyne and Wear, England), 14 January 1775, 1; *The Connecticut Gazette and the Universal Intelligencer* (New London, CT), 9 December 1774, 3; *New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury* (New York, NY), 5 December 1774; Virgil Anson Lewis, *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant*, 52.

eighty to ninety men wounded in the battle.<sup>176</sup> The number of casualties seems low in the scope of more than a thousand men who set out on the expedition, until it is considered in light of tightly-knit and sparsely settled backcountry communities who lost leaders, tradespeople, and family members. Some of Stuart's Greenbrier store customers were among those who did not return from Point Pleasant, like James Mooney who was killed later in the day during the battle even as he had survived the initial encounter with the Indians that morning.

The hardship faced by the families of the fallen was highlighted in the public claims submitted from Greenbrier residents to Virginia's government in 1775, when the families of those lost, like the wives of Lieutenant Matthew Bracken, his Captain, Robert McClenachan, and Isaac Vanbibber, requested and received allowances for their support.<sup>177</sup> Both John Stuart and Matthew Read's customers were among the wounded men, but only a portion of the names of the casualties were recorded, and even fewer of the wounded, so many of the losses, and the battle's impact, remain unknown except for those who knew them.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> The numbers of dead and wounded vary, but contemporary reports are consistently approximately fifty killed and eighty wounded. See Fleming, "Orderly Book," *Documentary History*, 344; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), 10 November 1774, 4; Skidmore and Kaminsky, *Lord Dunmore's Little War of 1774*, 192-193; Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, vol. I, 169; Later accounts by contemporary John Stuart noted seventy-five deceased and 140 wounded, which could be inflated or the result of long-term insights into the men who may have later died from wounds, or were not included as wounded in the initial numbers. See Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars"; For an explanation of other variations, see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 344, see footnote 65.

<sup>177</sup> Lieutenant Mathew Bracken's wife Abigail received £25, Captain Robert McClenachan's wife Katey received £50, and Isaac Vanbibber's wife Sarah received £40 based on rank. See *Dunmore's War* (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm, 182, 125, and 182; Skidmore and Kaminsky, *Lord Dunmore's Little War of 1774*, 194-200.

<sup>178</sup> The Mathews-Stuart and Read customers include Charles Kennison, William Clendenin, Thomas Ferguson, John Frazer, David Glassburn, and Thomas Carpenter. See Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784;

Public service claims from 1775 and pension applications submitted in the 1830s, more than fifty years after the battle, reveal the long-term physical impact of Lord Dunmore's War for those who sustained substantial wounds, but survived. The number of men wounded at Point Pleasant was significant enough that in July 1775, the Third Virginia Convention appointed a committee to settle the public claims, examine the wounded, and allocate pensions for their relief.<sup>179</sup> William Christian had reported from the battlefield that the "cries of the wounded prevented our rest" the night after the battle and that many who lingered would ultimately die as "There are many shot in two places, one in particular I observed with two bullets, some in three."<sup>180</sup> Christian described one man who was shot through his right arm and elbow, another received two wounds in his thigh, while yet another "was dangerously wounded by a ball which passed through his body."<sup>181</sup> Given Christian's account in the hours after the battle, it is not surprising that pension records describe men who were "disabled from labor," including a man who was badly wounded through his left wrist and thighs as "[two] balls passed through the thick muscles of the left thigh and tore & lacerated them in a great degree" and one who "received three Wounds one through his hand one through his side & one through his shoulder" which rendered him "incapable of Labour" and qualified him for a pension.<sup>182</sup>

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Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781; Matthew Read Journal, College of William and Mary.

<sup>179</sup> James Curry, Pension Record S44230, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

<sup>180</sup> Christian to Preston, 15 Oct., 1774, 262.

<sup>181</sup> In 1775, Curry received £20 in consideration for his wounds. Dunmore's War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm; James Curry, Pension Record S44230; Alexander Stuart, Pension Record VAS1817, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS; Alexander Walker, Pension Record R11040, Transcribed by Will Graves, SCRWPS.

<sup>182</sup> In 1775, Maze received £25 in consideration for his wounds. See Dunmore's War (Virginia Payrolls/Public Service Claims, 1775), Microfilm; Joseph Mays/Maze, Pension Record VAS46,

In the aftermath of the Battle of Point Pleasant, if kinship had not already sharpened the pains of loss, as in the case of Charles and Andrew Lewis, the shared experience of backcountry life, warfare, and community certainly did. Captains Robert McClenachan and John Stuart led Greenbrier companies that were part of the Botetourt County regiments to Point Pleasant. The stories of these two men, which paralleled each other in many ways leading up to Dunmore's War, provide another example of the battle's impact on the Greenbrier Valley. Captain Robert McClenachan, close friend and customer of John Stuart, did not return from the battle.<sup>183</sup> McClenachan came from an established Augusta family, and as young men, he and John Stuart, who was a close friend, were among the first permanent wave of settlers moving into the Greenbrier Valley in 1769.<sup>184</sup> While McClenachan lost his life at Point Pleasant, John Stuart returned to Greenbrier, resumed his duties running the Greenbrier store, and eventually became one of Greenbrier's most prominent citizens, publishing his memoirs and accounts of Lord Dunmore's War, and serving as Greenbrier's county clerk. Stuart also became part of the extensive Lewis kinship group when he married Thomas Lewis' daughter who was the widow of an Augusta County private who died at Point Pleasant.<sup>185</sup>

Kinship ties are visible in other names from the Dunmore's War muster rolls and the accounts from the Mathews-Stuart and Read stores. In addition to the Carpenter

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Transcribed by Will Graves, SCRWPS; John McKinney, Pension Record R6768, Transcribed by Will Graves, SCRWPS; John Dickinson, Pension Record VAS943, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

<sup>183</sup> Fleming, "Orderly Book," *Documentary History*, 255.

<sup>184</sup> John Stuart, "Narrative of Col. John Stuart, of Greenbrier," *William and Mary Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (Apr., 1914) 229-234, 231-232. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1914811> (accessed 15 December 2014); John Stuart spelled his name as both "Stuart" and "Stewart" throughout his life.

<sup>185</sup> Stuart, "Narrative," 229-234, 229; John Stuart married the widow of John Frogg from Augusta.

brothers who made purchases at the Greenbrier stores and fought at Point Pleasant, the Vanbibbers are another group of brothers who shopped and served alongside each other.<sup>186</sup> John Vanbibber, who lived in the Muddy Creek area of the Greenbrier Valley, was a captain in a regiment from Greenbrier and his brothers Isaac and Peter were privates. All three brothers were listed in Stuart's store records and occasionally made purchases for each other or paid each other's expenses. The brothers went off to Point Pleasant together, but only two returned, as Isaac was killed during the battle. Isaac's wife, Sarah, paid the balance of his account at Stuart's store a few years later and eventually married William Griffiths, who was her deceased husband's former comrade and another Greenbrier store customer.<sup>187</sup>

Brothers George and William Clendenin were privates in John Stuart's Greenbrier regiment, and both were also customers at Stuart's store.<sup>188</sup> Some accounts list George and William's brother Robert and father Charles among the muster rolls, but while their presence at the battle is uncertain and neither man had accounts at the store, the men were known to John Stuart who made notations about their identity by referencing family members in the ledger margins.<sup>189</sup> After a tenure as Greenbrier's schoolmaster, George Clendenin became the main promoter of the formation of Kanawha County. He likely first saw the Kanawha Valley while traveling to Point Pleasant in 1774 and then again as

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<sup>186</sup> Vanbibber is spelled alternatively as "Van Bibber," "Vanbeaver," "Van Bebbber," etc.

<sup>187</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.

<sup>188</sup> "Capt. Stewart's Company, Botetourt," in Heath, ed., *The Virginia Papers, Volume 2zz*, 80; George Clendenin to Zachariah Johnson, 20 April 1786, folder 2, Zachariah Johnson Papers, 1742-1856, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

<sup>189</sup> Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 410; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.

a state commissioner laying out a wagon road from Lewisburg to the Kanawha in the mid-1780s.<sup>190</sup> George purchased land in the area and, in 1794, named the town that was established there “Charlestown,” which eventually became Charleston, after his father.<sup>191</sup>

Situated in a mountainous terrain that naturally created division and isolation, John Stuart and Matthew Read’s stores were gathering places that unified the community and contributed to the formation of a distinctly Greenbrier identity, but also connected settlers beyond the Greenbrier Valley to a wider backcountry, colonial, and Atlantic World. Whether making purchases or selling goods, or visiting to hear news from the area or across the colony shopping in eighteenth-century Greenbrier was not a solitary activity; it was an experience intertwined with relationships. Family members, friends, neighbors, and acquaintances traveled to the stores, which also functioned as taverns in the early 1770s, from across the Greenbrier Valley to buy and sell, make exchanges, and settle accounts for each other. The settlers also gathered there for social activities where they paused for a meal or drank a pint, or several pints, of rum or whiskey for festive occasions and holidays that were not only celebrated in Virginia, but also throughout the British Atlantic World. They also engaged in friendly shooting matches that identified skilled marksmen and the men who might become leaders in the militia.

Militia service added another layer to the formation of Greenbrier’s community as it created a network of associations beyond familial ties and social connections. Militia companies were established by county and region, which meant that the men who served

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<sup>190</sup> John P. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers: Historical Sketches of the First White Settlements West of the Alleghenies 1748 and After*, 3rd ed., ed. Harold J. Dudley (Radford, VA: Roberta Ingles Steele, 1971), 286.

<sup>191</sup> “Charlestown” became Charleston, WV. See, Hale, 287.

together were also those who lived near one another, so Greenbrier's militiamen formed local companies even as they were also part of the larger Botetourt County regiment.<sup>192</sup> Lord Dunmore's War brought together men from throughout Virginia's southern backcountry and placed them in the Greenbrier Valley at Camp Union. Shared experiences in warfare bound companies together as they struggled through time away from home and family, long marches, the hardships of daily life during the expedition, and the emotions associated with the victory, as well as the deaths of comrades, friends, and relatives. The military expedition also brought increased commerce to Greenbrier as sutlers and merchants saw an opportunity to sell their wares at the encampment. While the tensions of 1774 culminated in the Battle of Point Pleasant on October 10, the expedition to the Ohio brought greater attention to the Greenbrier and Kanawha River Valleys as the men who led the expedition were recognized for their service.

Lord Dunmore returned to Williamsburg in December 1774, at the height of his popularity.<sup>193</sup> Shortly after his return, he submitted his concerns and observations about backcountry settlers to the Earl of Dartmouth, unknowingly hinting at what was to come as he described a people who did not fit within the behavioral norms of Englishmen. Dunmore wrote about "the emigrating Spirit" of Americans and backcountry inhabitants who were "impressed from their earliest infancy with Sentiments and habits, very different from those acquired by persons of a Similar condition in England."<sup>194</sup> While backcountry settlers fought alongside Lord Dunmore at Point Pleasant for a mutually

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<sup>192</sup> Ebel, "First Men," 162.

<sup>193</sup> Tarter and Scribner, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. II, 108.

<sup>194</sup> Dunmore to Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, *Thwaites and Kellogg, Documentary History*, 371.

beneficial outcome, Dunmore soon saw these distinct American “sentiments and habits” in action when their loyalty to the royal governor disintegrated in the following year.

Within six months of the expedition to the Ohio, Virginians were embroiled in the early stages of the Revolution, and Dunmore became a villain in the eyes of the colonists by removing the gunpowder from Williamsburg’s powder magazine and igniting an uproar in Virginia just as news about the battle at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts reached the colony in the spring of 1775.<sup>195</sup> The treaty Dunmore made with the Shawnees on the banks of the Ohio was short-lived as the start of the American Revolution shifted British imperial control and undid much of what was promised in the backcountry. Even in the midst of the Revolutionary War, Virginians continually pressed westward and Native Americans pushed back, so the Greenbrier region was not truly free from the threat of Indian attack for at least another decade.

Dunmore told Lord Dartmouth that backcountry Virginians had “no attachment to place” and that “wandering about Seems engrafted in their Nature;” however, Lord Dunmore’s War reinforced the communal bonds and identity Greenbrier settlers had already formed as a result of the settlement experience, including Indian attacks, and their consumption practices at the Greenbrier stores.<sup>196</sup> The shared experience of warfare also further cemented the settlers’ connection to their homes as, for the first time, they did not leave the Greenbrier Valley amid violence and Indian raids and actually fought for its survival as companies of Greenbrier militia. This experience ensured that Greenbrier’s

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<sup>195</sup> Holton, *Forced Founders*, 144; *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon & Hunter), 29 April 1775 (supplement), 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 4 May 1775, 3.

<sup>196</sup> Dunmore to Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, *Thwaites and Kellogg, Documentary History*, 371.



settlers would never again collectively abandon the region to seek out safety. Taken individually, whether settlement, commerce, or warfare, each element linked settlers' Greenbrier identity more broadly to the Virginia backcountry, the American colonies, and the Atlantic World. In addition, the expedition to the Ohio River and victory at Point Pleasant spurred the physical growth of Greenbrier Valley settlements and their expansion into the Kanawha Valley as territories that were ultimately incorporated into Greenbrier County a few years later during the American Revolution.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Hendricks argues that the Revolution spurred backcountry town growth as new settlers arrived and commerce increased in areas that served as supply depots and forts. See, Christopher E. Hendricks, *The Backcountry Towns of Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 50.

## CHAPTER V

### “LIBERTY, TO RANGE THESE WOODS,” 1775-1777<sup>1</sup>

In early 1775, Lord Dunmore enjoyed tremendous popularity after the success of his expedition against the Shawnees the previous autumn, but by late spring, he became a villain in the eyes of Virginians by removing the gunpowder from Williamsburg’s powder magazine just as news about the battle at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts reached Virginia’s capital. In the aftermath of Dunmore’s duplicity, Virginians scrambled to reinforce their ties with friendly Ohio Indians through treaties that were separate from those made by Virginia’s exiled royal governor and when the American colonies declared their independence in 1776, Virginians faced a new British foe on the frontier in addition to their Native American adversaries.<sup>2</sup> Through the chaos of the early years of the American Revolution, backcountry settlers continued to establish and expand their communities, and Greenbrier developed beyond the Greenbrier Valley itself to include areas further into the Appalachian Mountains, that were identified as

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<sup>1</sup> This phrase comes from the instructions from the Botetourt County Freeholders to Col. Andrew Lewis and Mr. John Bowyer that were published in the *Virginia Gazette* just before the Second Virginia Convention. See *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.

<sup>2</sup> The American Revolution restructured Indian society as old alliances fell apart and new ones were created along with new sources of violence and Virginians continued to move westward onto Indian lands. Colin Calloway writes that “The proximity and interconnectedness of Indian and colonial communities throughout large areas of North America gave the backcountry warfare of the Revolution a face-to-face nature that heightened its bitterness.” See Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), xiii, 4.

“western Botetourt” as the westernmost settled region of Botetourt County, and were eventually incorporated into Greenbrier County.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout this period, settlers in the western portion of Botetourt County, who had firmly formed a regional identity through the challenges of settlement, commerce, and Lord Dunmore’s War in 1774, demonstrated a growing awareness of their distinctiveness geographically from the eastern area of the county including access to the county court and county defense. Settlers expressed concern that their limited representation in the county court and local government, because of their physical distance from the courthouse, prevented them from legally securing their land claims or addressing other concerns. Land ownership motivated many people to move into the backcountry, and settlers’ landholdings were often in limbo because of the infringement of land companies, land speculators, or even other settlers. The need for access to county courts ultimately contributed to settlers’ petition for the formation of a new county in 1777 because creating a county government was a way to establish dominion and control, and although the royal governor and the king were no longer seen as Virginia’s ultimate authority, the county court ensured a functional society.<sup>4</sup>

Settlers in the Appalachian Mountains were also keenly aware of their precarious situation as a defensive barrier for Virginia’s interior settlements. Throughout the

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<sup>3</sup> “Western Botetourt” included land along the Kanawha River and the Kanawha Valley around present-day Charleston, West Virginia.

<sup>4</sup> Warren Hofstra, “‘The Extention of His Majesties Dominions’: The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers,” *Journal of American History* 84, no. 4 (March 1998), 1285-1286.

Revolution, they were particularly strained by the need for county defense as they were often expected to fulfill the usual militia duties for the county, but also supply men for garrisons along the Ohio and frontier expeditions organized by the Continental Army, in addition to protecting their homes and families from the very real threat of Indian attack. Through the early years of the American Revolution, the settlers' Greenbrier identity and their contributions to Virginia's defense emboldened them to demand representation in county governance as they sacrificed their lives on the frontier and developed a trend toward "localism."<sup>5</sup> Historian Albert Tillson defined localism as a "preoccupation with local matters to the exclusion of any substantial involvement in the outside world" and saw evidence of it in the upper Shenandoah Valley.<sup>6</sup> He argued that localism was particularly noticeable during the American Revolution as settlers had a "primary attachment to local neighborhoods rather than to county, colony, or empire."<sup>7</sup> While local concerns often had precedence over colonial concerns in Greenbrier and western Botetourt, the settlers' allegiance reached beyond their specific neighborhoods to the entire Greenbrier region and they also continued to support the patriot cause.

Although western Botetourt and Greenbrier settlers embraced an increasingly separate identity from the area east of the Appalachian Mountains, settlers were still connected to the eastern backcountry and Shenandoah Valley through commercial

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<sup>5</sup> Albert H. Tillson, Jr., "The Localist Roots of Backcountry Loyalism: An Examination of Popular Political Culture in Virginia's New River Valley," *Journal of Southern History* 54, no. 3 (August 1988), 387.

<sup>6</sup> Tillson, "The Localist Roots of Backcountry Loyalism," 387; Albert H. Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier, 1740-1789* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 45, 159-160.

<sup>7</sup> Tillson, "The Localist Roots of Backcountry Loyalism," 387; Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk*, 45, 159-160.

networks like those between John Stuart's Greenbrier store and Sampson and George Mathews' business in Staunton, roughly 120 miles northeast of the Greenbrier Valley. While the store that resulted from the business partnership between Stuart and the Mathews functioned as a significant element in the community for business and social gatherings prior to 1775, its role diminished during the years of the American Revolution, from 1775 to 1782, as measured by decreasing customer accounts through that time period.<sup>8</sup> This decline is likely in part because of the need to move the store into forts during periods of Indian attacks, or Stuart's focus on the war and community defense during the Revolution as he served as the region's militia leader, but it may also be because, as Daniel Thorp noted, frontier businesses typically had a period of growth, followed by peak success, before they experienced a decline as new businesses opened closer to customers' homes.<sup>9</sup> In addition to changes in the community during wartime that contributed to the store's decline, the items Stuart sold changed as well, perhaps representing a shift in the community's needs, the presence of additional merchants in the area, or the challenge of supplying goods to the region during the American Revolution.

Settlement, commerce, and warfare fundamentally shaped Greenbrier identity prior to the American Revolution, and the diverse elements of legalizing land claims, regional defense, and an ongoing need for commercial activity, continued to mold

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<sup>8</sup> There were approximately 186 customers at the store in 1774, 89 in 1775, 150 in 1776, 130 in 1777, 48 in 1778, 33 in 1779, 10 in 1780, 4 in 1781, and 4 in 1782. See Mathews Trading Post Ledger, 1771-1784, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Sampson and George Mathews Greenbrier Store Daybook (copy), 1771-1773, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Sampson and George Mathews Greenbrier Store Daybook, 1771-1781, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>9</sup> Daniel Thorp, "Business in the Backcountry," *William and Mary Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (July 1991), 396.

western Botetourt and Greenbrier society from 1775 to 1777. These experiences ultimately led settlers to petition for the creation of a new county, named Greenbrier, in the fall of 1777.<sup>10</sup> Despite the violence and chaos of the early years of the American Revolution, these settlers were not deterred from their plans to establish themselves and their families in the Allegheny Mountains, and they were willing to defend their homes from a variety of enemies – Native Americans, the British, or even other Virginians.<sup>11</sup> Although Lord Dunmore told Lord Dartmouth that they had “no attachment to place” and wandering was part of their nature, through their actions during the American Revolution, these backcountry settlers confirmed their connection to place and their Greenbrier identity again and again as they demonstrated their intent to survive and thrive in the Virginia backcountry.<sup>12</sup>

### **“Prepared for every contingency”<sup>13</sup>**

In December 1774, several months after the victory at Point Pleasant, Virginians took to the *Virginia Gazette* to praise Lord Dunmore and the success of his expedition against the Shawnees. The Council of Virginia and city of Williamsburg published

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<sup>10</sup> A petition for the creation of Greenbrier County was submitted in October 1777 and went into effect on 1 March 1778. See William Waller Hening, ed. *Statutes at Large; being a collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the year 1619*, vol. IX (Richmond: J. & G. Cochran, 1821), 420.

<sup>11</sup> Most landowners in the upper Shenandoah Valley owned 100 to 500 acres of land during this period. See Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk*, 9; Robert Mitchell offers detailed analysis of land acquisition in the Shenandoah Valley, which is the best comparison for western Botetourt and Greenbrier. See Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 59-92.

<sup>12</sup> Lord Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 371.

<sup>13</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 24 March 1775, 3.

congratulatory pieces in the newspaper noting that the Governor had “effectually prevented the Desolation of a growing back Country, and the horrors of human carnage.”<sup>14</sup> Recognizing that their personal property and estates were not near the conflict, the council nonetheless rejoiced in the “prospect of a permanent peace.”<sup>15</sup> In a printed response, Dunmore wrote, “The fatigue and danger of the service which I undertook, out of commiseration for the deplorable state which, in particular, the back inhabitants were in, and to manifest my solicitude for the safety of the country in general, which his majesty has committed to my care, has been amply rewarded by the satisfaction I feel in having been able to put an essential stop to a bloody war,” in effect, taking credit for the outcome of the expedition, even though he was not present at the battle at Point Pleasant.<sup>16</sup>

While backcountry Virginians prepared for the “bloody war” in 1774, the First Virginia Convention convened in Williamsburg, Virginia, in August. Focusing on nonexportation, the Convention set a date in 1775 to cut off trade with Britain while allowing tobacco farmers to profit from the crop they were preparing to harvest.<sup>17</sup> To maintain their booming grain export business to the British West Indies, the Convention chose to end trade with only Britain itself while preserving Virginian’s commercial relationships in the Caribbean. A month later, the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia and reiterated many of Virginia’s and other colonies’ decisions and

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<sup>14</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 22 December 1774, 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 15 December 1774, 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 8 December 1774, 3.

<sup>17</sup> Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 119.

concerns, submitted a *Declaration of Rights and Grievances* to the King, and set a date to reconvene in the spring of 1775.<sup>18</sup>

Throughout 1774, Lord Dunmore's War – the preparations, the expedition itself, and its aftermath – required the full attention of Botetourt County leaders and kept them on the periphery of growing tensions and frustrations toward Great Britain as they sought royal support for their endeavors; however, they were able to at least partially re-direct their attention to colonial concerns in the new year.<sup>19</sup> In early 1775, Virginia's backcountry settlers fixed their gaze on mounting colony-wide concerns, even as they continued to address the long-term impact of Dunmore's War and seek payment and compensation for the men who “nobly fought, and defended our country against a savage enemy” at Point Pleasant.<sup>20</sup> Botetourt leaders rushed to show their agreement with the actions taken by the First Virginia Convention and the Continental Congress while also demonstrating their support for the upcoming Second Virginia Convention, which met in Richmond, Virginia, beginning on March 20, 1775. The Second Virginia Convention is best remembered as the place of Patrick Henry's “Liberty or Death” speech, but in anticipation of that meeting, many Virginia counties issued a series of instructions to their delegates, which were published in the *Virginia Gazette* and contained stirring sentiments

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<sup>18</sup> Holton, *Forced Founders*, 119; The First Continental Congress met from September 5 through October 24, 1774, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. See Tarter and Scribner, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. II, 103-105.

<sup>19</sup> Evidence of this is in the previously mentioned absence of delegates from the backcountry counties who sent militias to Point Pleasant at the First Virginia Convention in August 1774. See Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. I (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 219-220.

<sup>20</sup> Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. II (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 312. The freeholders of Hanover County issued instruction to their delegates on 4 March 1775 to make a provision for the payment of their countrymen, especially the families of those who were killed or wounded.



about Virginia's future. These instructions and pronouncements followed similar patterns expressing loyalty to king and country while making known their dissatisfaction with Parliament, demonstrating solidarity with other colonies, and emphasizing specific local experiences and hardships.<sup>21</sup>

Written by the county's freeholders, Botetourt County acknowledged that "the alarming situation of our frontiers, for some time past, hath prevented our co-operating with our fellow-subjects" and they joined in the growing patriotic fervor with two spirited statements showing their support for issues past and present.<sup>22</sup> The freeholders began by declaring their support for the "SONS of WORTH and FREEDOM who appeared for us at Philadelphia" during the Continental Congress and their willingness to adopt and obey the resolutions put forward by the Congress.<sup>23</sup> Turning to the upcoming Second Virginia Convention in Richmond, the freeholders issued a declaration of gratitude and instruction to their delegates, Andrew Lewis and John Bowyer. Illustrating an acute awareness of their location at the western edge of Virginia's settlement and a strong attachment to place, even as they demonstrated the growing unity across the British colonies in support of the people of Boston, Botetourt freeholders stated that "when the honest man of

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<sup>21</sup> Tarter and Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. II, 334.

<sup>22</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 24 March 1775, 3; "Freeholders" were those adult males over the age of twenty-one in the colony holding a house or lot in a town as sole owner, twenty-five acres with a house or plantation on it, or 100 acres of land in the possession or him or his tenants. See William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619*, vol. IV (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1820), 475-478.

<sup>23</sup> "Freeholders" were those adult males over the age of twenty-one in the colony holding a house or lot in a town as sole owner, twenty-five acres with a house or plantation on it, or 100 acres of land in the possession or him or his tenants. See Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. IV, 475-478; *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.

Boston, who has broke no law, has his property wrested from him, the hunter on the Allegany must take the alarm.”<sup>24</sup> Noting the importance of land and inheritance, elements that Greenbrier settlers would later emphasize as justification for the creation of Greenbrier County, Botetourt freeholders offered a stirring charge to Lewis and Bowyer.

Gentlemen, my gun, my tomahawk, my life, I desire you to tender to the honour of my King and country; but my LIBERTY, to range these woods on the same terms my father has done is not mine to give up; it was not purchased by me, and purchased it was, it is entailed on my son, and the tenure is sacred. Watch over it, Gentlemen, for to him it must descend unviolated, if my arm can defend it; but if not, if wicked power is permitted to prevail against me, the original purchase was blood, and mine shall seal the surrender.<sup>25</sup>

Some of the language and tone that the freeholders used is common among other proclamations in Virginia and generally representative of the ideology of the American Revolution; however, they more uniquely described the physical trials of backcountry settlement through the use of gun and tomahawk. Making a connection between this ideology and their personal experiences also increased the relevance of the instructions for their communities.<sup>26</sup> By referring to the purchase of their liberty “to range these woods on the same terms my father has done,” the importance of passing this liberty to their sons, and the “original purchase” in blood, the freeholders argued that claiming their lands had not simply been an issue of paper and pen, but one that required their sweat and

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<sup>24</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.

<sup>25</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Albert Tillson writes, “By relating the patriot ideology to their region’s special experiences and values, the upper valley gentry gave that ideology a heightened relevance for their communities.” See Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk*, 78-80.

blood, and even their lives, thus in their minds, giving them further right to their lands and a greater reason to defend them.

Less than two weeks later, Botetourt's freeholders submitted another statement for publication addressed to Virginia's delegates to the Continental Congress. They reiterated their recent concerns about the frontier and their loyalty to the king and readiness to defend him even as they voiced their support for the delegates "steady and patriotick conduct, in the support of American liberty."<sup>27</sup> They also addressed the "tyrannical Ministry" and disregard for their rights with phrases echoing that of Alexander Shields' Scottish Covenanter work, which was sold at John Stuart's Greenbrier store and was popular among Pennsylvania's Paxton Boys in the 1760s.<sup>28</sup> The Botetourt County freeholders concluded their instructions by stating, "Liberty is so strongly impressed on our hearts, that we cannot think of parting with it but with our lives. Our duty to God, our country, ourselves, and our posterity, all forbid it. We therefore stand prepared for every contingency."<sup>29</sup>

Botetourt's sentiments echoed those of neighboring backcountry counties like Augusta, Fincastle, and Pittsylvania, which also published statements through the early months of 1775, but while there were some similarities between the resolutions, Botetourt County's stands out because the names of the freeholders and committee members who

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<sup>27</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 24 March 1775, 3

<sup>28</sup> Shields used passages from the Bible to condemn the tyranny of the English monarchy, arguing that its failure to be just meant that its authority passed to the church, and that tyrants would receive God's judgment. See Joseph S. Moore, "Irish Radicals, Southern Conservatives: Slavery, Religious Liberty, and the Presbyterian Fringe in the Atlantic World," (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2011), 167; Joseph S. Moore, *Founding Sins: How a Group of Antislavery Radicals Fought to Put Christ into the Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 26, 44-45.

<sup>29</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 24 March 1775, 3

drafted the statement are unknown.<sup>30</sup> The only names included with either of the Botetourt publications were those of Andrew Lewis and John Bowyer who represented the county as delegates to the Second Virginia Convention. Although the freeholders' were unidentified, they did note that they had "assembled at the courthouse," which was located in present-day Fincastle, Virginia, about seventy miles east of the Greenbrier Valley, to draft their statement.<sup>31</sup>

Identifying the names and locations of Botetourt County freeholders through militia and county records gives insight into the county's development across more than 150 miles of mountainous terrain, from the Shenandoah Valley to the Ohio River and beyond. Militia officers were appointed by the county court and therefore were typically freeholders as they came from the upper tiers of colonial Virginia society.<sup>32</sup> Those who served as officers in the Botetourt County militia during Lord Dunmore's War, and survived the battle at Point Pleasant, were William Fleming, Philip Love, John Lewis, John Stuart, and Matthew Arbuckle.<sup>33</sup> Additionally, the gentlemen justices of the

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<sup>30</sup> The Fincastle Resolutions are some of the best-known in the Virginia backcountry because of scholarship focusing on them. See Thad Tate, "The Fincastle Resolutions: Southwest Virginia's Commitment," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* 9, no. 2 (1975): 19-31; Mary Kegley, "Who the 15 Signers Were," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* 9, no. 2 (1975): 32-37; Mary Kegley, "Another Look at the Fincastle Resolutions," *Historical Society of Western Virginia Journal*, no. 1 (2013):66-71; Jim Glanville, "The Fincastle Resolutions," *Smithfield Review* 14 (2010): 69-119.

<sup>31</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 24 March 1775, 3

<sup>32</sup> Rhys Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 104-110; Michael A. McDonnell, *The Politics of War: Race, Class & Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 37-38.

<sup>33</sup> Botetourt County Captains Robert McClenachan, James Ward, and John Murray were killed at Point Pleasant; Jim Glanville, email message to Sarah McCartney, 12 March 2016.

Botetourt County Court itself would have been among the county's freeholders and may have been at the meeting at Botetourt's courthouse to draft the county's resolutions<sup>34</sup>

Western Botetourt, the area west of the Appalachian Mountains that became Greenbrier County, was represented by only a few justices including Andrew Donnally, Matthew Arbuckle, John Lewis, John Vanbibber, James Henderson, and John Stuart. The minimal number of justices and freeholders from that region, which spanned roughly three-fourths of the county, is significant as it demonstrates that county governance in western Botetourt in 1775 was carried out primarily by men who lived east of the Appalachian Mountains. This skewed representation often left the western portions of the county without a voice in county concerns and contributed to the request for a new county that would offer more local representation as Greenbrier settlers increasingly saw themselves as a distinct region.

Botetourt and other Virginia counties published statements of support for the colonial conventions and expressed dissatisfaction with Britain throughout early 1775. Although Lord Dunmore continued to receive praise for his defense of the backcountry the previous year, public opinion quickly shifted in April 1775. In the early morning hours of April 21, Lord Dunmore ordered soldiers to remove fifteen half-barrels of

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<sup>34</sup> Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 30, 90-91; The Botetourt County Justices included William Fleming, Philip Love, Matthew Arbuckle, John Lewis and John Stuart, Andrew Lewis, Samuel Lewis, John Maxwell, David Robinson, George Skillern, Adam Smyth, James Trimble, James Henderson, Benjamin Estill, John Bowman, John Murray, William Madison, John Bowyer, William McKee, Andrew Donnally, Richard May, Andrew Woods, James Templeton, Thomas Bowyer, Andrew Boyd, James McAfee, William Hugart, Patrick Lockhart, John Vanbibber, Henry Pauling, Henry Smith and William McClenachan. See Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 238-250; McIlwaine, H. R. *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library* XIV, no.2-3 (April, July 1921), 121-122, 126.

gunpowder from the powder magazine in Williamsburg and place them on the HMS *Magdalen*, which was anchored in the James River.<sup>35</sup> The governor's actions took place in the midst of growing patriotic fervor, rumors of slave insurrections, and concerns among white Virginians that the British would encourage slave revolts to quash the colonists' efforts against the British, so citizens felt that their greatest fears had been realized.<sup>36</sup> By dawn on April 21, Williamsburg's citizens gathered near the governor's palace intending to use force to convince the governor to return the powder; however, Peyton Randolph, who was the Speaker of Virginia's House of Burgesses, and other leaders met with Dunmore and were ultimately able to convince the mob to return to their homes without incident.<sup>37</sup>

Events and actions in the days that followed only heightened Virginian's distrust of their royal governor. On April 22, Dunmore further provoked Virginians by issuing a bold message to Peyton Randolph that he would "declare freedom to the slaves and reduce the City of Wmsburg to ashes" if British officials were harmed.<sup>38</sup> Historian Woody Holton argued that Dunmore's message reveals the reason Virginia leaders willingly returned home peacefully after talking to the governor the previous morning as "They did not want to provoke [Dunmore] to employ a weapon far more lethal than fifteen half-barrels of ammunition: the more than 180,000 Virginians that were enslaved."<sup>39</sup> Even as Virginians were distrustful of the governor's motives, news of

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<sup>35</sup> Holton, *Forced Founders*, 144; McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 49-50.

<sup>36</sup> Holton, *Forced Founders*, 140.

<sup>37</sup> Holton, *Forced Founders*, 144; McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 52-53.

<sup>38</sup> Holton, *Forced Founders*, 145.

<sup>39</sup> Holton, *Forced Founders*, 145-146.

British troops trying to seize gunpowder and military stores in Concord, Massachusetts, and the resulting battle at Lexington and Concord made its way to Virginia, so Dunmore's actions seemed like a suspicious coincidence. On May 2, 1775, Dunmore wrote to his council that "commotions and insurrections have suddenly been excited among the people, which threaten the very existence of his majesty's government in this colony," and he issued a proclamation reiterating his reason for removing the powder as "some persons, in the different parts of this colony, are disaffected to his majesty's government."<sup>40</sup> Dunmore neglected to mention his previous message to Peyton Randolph to the council and actually stated that his motive for removing the gunpowder from the magazine's "very insecure depository" was to prevent its use in a slave insurrection.<sup>41</sup>

While the events of April 1775 directed more attention toward the deteriorating relationship between Virginians and Lord Dunmore, Greenbrier and western Botetourt residents utilized the lull in backcountry violence in the early months of 1775 to establish stronger defenses along the Ohio River's treaty boundary. Under Lord Dunmore's orders shortly after the battle in November 1774, Virginians erected a basic defensive structure at Point Pleasant named Fort Blair.<sup>42</sup> In June 1775, supposedly as his last official act,

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<sup>40</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 4 May 1775, 3.

<sup>41</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), 4 May 1775, 3; Providing historical context for the event, Woody Holton explains, "The powder magazine incident[...]is significant because it was the first time since Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 that a large number of Virginians had taken up arms to attack a royal governor, and even more because it served 'to widen the unhappy breach between Great Britain and her colonies.'" See Holton, *Forced Founders*, 148.

<sup>42</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds. *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), fn 310. According to Thwaites and Kellogg, Fort Blair "was a small palisaded rectangle, about eighty yards long, with blockhouses at two of its corners"; According to Tarter and Scribner, "Fort Blair stood some distance from the small stockade that Andrew Lewis had erected following the Battle of Point Pleasant." See Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. IV (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978), fn 205.

Lord Dunmore disbanded the garrison stationed at Fort Blair, and on June 12, the garrison's commander, William Russell, wrote to Botetourt County Lieutenant William Fleming that the governor had ordered him to decamp, but that he had "procrastinated our departure from this Garrison, expecting that ere now, we should Receive some Orders from the Convention, that might countermand the Governors Letter to me."<sup>43</sup>

William Russell noted the tension between Britain and America, news of battles between the British and Americans near Boston, and his great joy" in "victories obtained over the Enemies Tyranic Pride."<sup>44</sup> Anticipating the path ahead, Russell wrote that the

Unheard of Acts of Barbarity, committed by the Brittish Troops, will doubtless stir up every lover of his Country, to be Zealous, and forward in its defence, to support our Liberty; tho', I doubt not, but many sychophants to Brittain's Interst, will now appear Patriots;—as long as our Arms prove Victorious; but should every our present success change, and in ever so small a manner, be Sully'd, you'l find [Traitors] enough prick up their Ears, and in an Profetic language, display their presuggested knowledge of Events.<sup>45</sup>

William Russell knew that the relationship between Britain and her colonies would influence Virginian-Indian relations and though he was confident that "the Shawanees will always be our Friends," a "rupture" between England and America would result in trouble at the hands of other Native groups.<sup>46</sup> Russell's comments demonstrated that Virginians often forgot that there were different communities within the Shawnees and

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<sup>43</sup> William Russell to William Fleming, 12 June 1775, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 13; William Russell was a signer of the Fincastle County Resolves in January 1775. See Jim Glanville, "The Fincastle Resolutions," *Smithfield Review* 14, (2010): 69-119.

<sup>44</sup> Russell to Fleming, 12 June 1775, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 13.

<sup>45</sup> Russell to Fleming, 12 June 1775, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 13.

<sup>46</sup> Russell to Fleming, 12 June 1775, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 15.



that while some groups “may always be our Friends” others had a less positive view of a relationship with the Virginians. Providing insight into the Virginian’s relationship with the Shawnees after the battle at Point Pleasant, Russell described a conversation with Shawnee leader Keightughqua, “the Cornstalk,” principal chief of the Mequashake band of the Shawnees, who had made the peace with Lord Dunmore in 1774 and was a key leader in maintaining the Shawnees’ neutrality.<sup>47</sup> Russell explained that Cornstalk brought him horses taken by a party of Cherokees who had attacked settlers in Kentucky months earlier and informed him that Shawnees from the Piqua community intended to cause trouble whenever possible. Fueling the Piqua’s dislike for the Virginians, Cornstalk explained that the Mingo referred to the Shawnees pejoratively as the “big knife People” and taunted them as cowards for making peace and becoming the subjects of the Virginians.<sup>48</sup>

Over the course of six months, from December 1774 to June 1775, Virginians’ allegiances shifted drastically from support for their royal governor to distrust in his commitment to their well-being. When the Botetourt County freeholders published their resolutions in March 1775, they professed allegiance to the King and displeasure with

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<sup>47</sup> For a description of “the Cornstalk,” see Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. II (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 105; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 162; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 67. Dowd notes that Cornstalk was an influential leader among the Shawnee neutralists as someone who opposed militancy in Dunmore’s War, but had organized the Shawnees to defend themselves against the invading Virginians and that, after the battle at Point Pleasant, he had again supported neutrality. See Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 67.

<sup>48</sup> Russell to Fleming, 12 June 1775, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 14-15; Colin G. Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America* (New York: Viking, 2007), 56-58. The Piqua were a Shawnee band of roughly one hundred people, which Reverend David Jones described in 1773 as a “most remarkable town for robbers and villains.” See Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America*, xxi.

Parliament, but with Dunmore's actions at Williamsburg's powder magazine the following month, Virginians began to blur the line between the King and his representatives and question the intent of the political body across the Atlantic Ocean who seemed willing to leave them vulnerable to Indian attack and even encourage a slave insurrection. While the Virginia Convention and Continental Congress addressed colonial concerns, Botetourt County settlers continued to fashion their community through their daily actions, including the seemingly mundane issues of county governance.

### **The Summer of '75**

As patriotic fervor and distrust for the King's representatives spread throughout Virginia, Botetourt's militia continued to guard the frontier, and Botetourt county leaders also continued with the duties of county governance, including regulating ordinaries and collecting tithables. The county court set the rates for ordinary keepers and issued licenses for running ordinaries, but there were no licenses granted to individuals in the Greenbrier Valley in the early 1770s, although historians agree that the absence of licenses did not mean an absence of public drinking houses. In March 1775, the Botetourt County court granted only two ordinary licenses, including one for Greenbrier Valley settler James Milliken. The license allowed Milliken to run an ordinary at his home and offer alcohol, meals, and lodging for man or animal.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> 14 March 1775, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 241; The Mathews records do not include any purchases of rum or meals during this year.

Beginning in 1775 and continuing through the end of the American Revolution, entries for food or drink no longer appeared in Stuart's store and no ordinary license has been found in connection with the business.<sup>50</sup> This change from earlier years is significant as it relates to the store's function, the number of customer transactions, and the store's role in Greenbrier's community. Delving into the Greenbrier store records provides an example of changes that occurred at the store and in the community. Comparing January 1774 and January 1775 reveals that while January 1774 brought the heaviest traffic of the year to the store, January 1775 has only one dated entry. In 1774 settlers celebrated the queen's birthday with pints of rum, but there were no days of drinking at the store in 1775 and the single entry for January is a listing of account debts and payments. Without selling ready to eat food and drink, the store no longer functioned as a place for social gatherings, private social club meetings, shared holidays, or shooting competitions that were prevalent a few years earlier. Since the store no longer served as a place for customers to mingle, its role in Greenbrier's community had changed and the social interactions that strengthened communal bonds took place elsewhere or were no longer necessary to the local relationships. Without a courthouse or church in the area until the 1780s, the traditional locations for socializing were still absent from the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> While there is not a license for an ordinary in Greenbrier, Sampson Matthews did receive a license to operate an ordinary at his home in Augusta county in 1775. 22 March 1775, Augusta Order Book, 16:69.

<sup>51</sup> Supposedly Presbyterian itinerant ministers named Edward Crawford, Frazier, and Read were the first in the area, but in 1772, "a licensed minister named Cummings" from the Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church in present-day Fishersville, Virginia, in the Shenandoah Valley was "directed to preach eight sermons a year in the Greenbrier and Tygart valleys." See Otis K. Rice, *A History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, WV: Greenbrier Historical Society, 1986), 183-184.

In addition to regulating ordinaries, the Botetourt County court also ordered the collection of tithables and at the May 1775 session each justice was charged with making collections in a specific area near his home and submitting them to the court in August (see Figure 11).<sup>52</sup> Justices Andrew Donnally and James Henderson made collections in the Greenbrier Valley while portions of western Botetourt were not subject to taxation because of a prior ordinance during the early years of settlement and were expanding faster than the laws governing them.<sup>53</sup> The ordinance also meant that those western Botetourt residents were unable to vote in county elections and were not represented in county business, which would contribute to future issues and petitions. Andrew Donnally's collection area consisted of the main portion of the Greenbrier Valley "from the mouth of Muddy Creek up Greenbrier on the north side through to Spars Ford, and from thence on both sides of said river to the Augusta line including Howard's Creek and Anthony Creek," while Henderson covered an area farther to the south "from the mouth of Muddy Creek to the mouth of Greenbrier River on both sides of said river" and along Indian Creek, Second Creek, and the Sinkhole lands.<sup>54</sup> Together, Andrew Donnally and James Henderson made collections from roughly 425 households in the Greenbrier

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<sup>52</sup> 10 May 1775, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 244; Tithables included all white males over the age of sixteen along with all enslaved persons, free blacks, and Indians who were not tributary Indians regardless of gender. See William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a collection of all the laws of Virginia, from the first session of the legislature, in the year 1619*, vol. VI (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartown, 1819), 40-41.

<sup>53</sup> 21 May 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VII, pt 1, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 206-207.

<sup>54</sup> 10 May 1775, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 244; Summers' transcription incorrectly writes the locations as "Linkhole" and "Sund Creek"; Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County Reel 149, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA. Hereafter, collection cited as LGRC, LVA. The list of approximately two hundred tithables collected by Henderson is not dated, but must have been gathered after the May 10 order from the court.

Valley with over 530 tithables. These numbers likely represent a population of 1,500 to 2,000 residents in Greenbrier alone, while the population of western Botetourt is unknown.<sup>55</sup> In the Greenbrier Valley, the largest population was situated in the Spring Creek area, which included a portion of the Great Levels, while the southern area of the valley was less-populated.<sup>56</sup>

When the Botetourt County Court reconvened on August 8, 1775, the justices submitted their lists of tithables and issued the first of a series of orders related to the creation and maintenance of roads throughout the county.<sup>57</sup> Although European settlers arrived in Greenbrier and western Botetourt years earlier, there had been little development in roads through this mountainous region, which had undoubtedly been

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<sup>55</sup> This calculation is approximately the number of tithables in 1775 times 3. I've seen calculators for tithables times 3 and tithables times 4 for population calculations. Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County, Reel 149, LGRC, LVA

<sup>56</sup> Andrew Donnally collected for approximately 138 households and 183 tithables. Thirty of the households had more than one tithable, with a handful having at least three tithables, and one household having nine. The number of tithables beyond the head of household may represent sons between the age of sixteen and twenty-one, but a higher number of tithables likely include slaves. Donnally's own neighborhood of Sinking Creek had forty-two tithables and thirty-five households, which was comparable to the neighborhoods of the more northerly Little Levels, and southerly area of Muddy Creek, which was one of the earliest settlements in the Greenbrier Valley and had forty-two tithables and thirty-three households. Donnally's area also included Anthony Creek and Howard's Creek on the eastern side of the Greenbrier River, which had fewer than twenty tithables each. Donnally's total lists included approximately 263 households and 330 tithables for a minimum population of roughly 1,000. While Andrew Donnally organized his tithables by neighborhood and collection region, James Henderson recorded his names in one long alphabetical list, thus making it nearly impossible to parse out the inhabitants into the distinct neighborhoods south of Muddy Creek, Indian Creek, Second Creek, and the Sinkholes. Henderson's collections totaled approximately 165 households with just over 200 tithables for a conservative population estimate of 600; Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County Reel 149, LGRC, LVA; William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a collection of all the laws of Virginia, from the first session of the legislature, in the year 1619*, vol. VI (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartown, 1819), 41; Kim McBride and W. Stephen McBride, *Frontier Defense: Colonizing Contested Areas in the Greenbrier Valley of West Virginia* (Nicholasville, KY: Warner's Printing Services for the West Virginia Humanities Council, 2014), 3-4.

<sup>57</sup> The roads are described in the Botetourt County Court Records, but were also compiled by the Virginia Transportation Research Council. See Ann Brush Miller, "Historic Roads of Virginia: Botetourt County Road Orders, 1770-1778," VTRC 07-R22, Virginia Transportation Research Council (February 2007), [http://www.virginiadot.org/vtrc/main/online\\_reports/pdf/07-r22.pdf](http://www.virginiadot.org/vtrc/main/online_reports/pdf/07-r22.pdf) (accessed 22 February 2016).

witnessed by the justices as they traveled throughout the county making collections. In the Greenbrier Valley, the court ordered reports on roads and bridle ways, which were simply a cleared path or trail that could be traveled on horseback, and certain settlers were selected to review the routes and report their findings to the court. After receiving the reports, the justices appointed surveyors to review the roads and identified the neighborhoods, which were responsible for maintenance.<sup>58</sup> These bridle ways and roads were along main routes in present-day Greenbrier County, and the lack of development for so many years prior to 1775 further reveals the isolation of these settlements and the challenges settlers faced as they traveled throughout the area, while at the same time making the successful formation of a Greenbrier identity and community more remarkable. The creation of roads and their maintenance by neighborhood communities suggests cohesive settlements with residents who could be expected to take on these responsibilities. The existence of neighborhood communities furthers an understanding of Greenbrier identity as settlers were not only connected by their residence in the region, but at a smaller scale by the particular areas of the Greenbrier Valley where they lived.

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<sup>58</sup> Samuel Brown and Hugh Miller, who lived in the Spring Creek area, along with Joseph Anderson and Patrick Davis received the order to “view the way from the Sweet Springs road on Dunlop’s Creek to Camp Union and make report thereof the court.” The men reported that the road was established at the court’s November meeting, and John Anderson and Patrick Davis were appointed as surveyors while the inhabitants on the Great Levels from “the Droop Mountain to Thomas Hamilton’s and on Sinking Creek and Howard’s” would support the road’s maintenance.” The “report of a bridle way from Camp Union to Andrew Donelly’s” was submitted with James Milliken appointed surveyor and the inhabitants living between Hugh Gillespie’s, in Spring Creek, and William McCoy’s, on Sinking Creek, maintaining the route; See 15 November 1775, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 249; Greenbrier Company Surveys from the Virginia Land Office, 1751-1776, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA; Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County Reel 149, LGRC, LVA; Summers lists “Patrick Lewis” rather than “Davis;” however, this is an error as is apparent in later records listing Patrick Davis and the fact that there is not a Patrick Lewis living in Greenbrier.

Their desire to form a new county a few years later further validated their individual lands and neighborhoods within a larger region.

While the Botetourt County court discussed roadways and county business, the Third Virginia Convention strategized about Virginia's military establishments, and the delegates' decisions strained many backcountry counties throughout the Revolution. From May 1774 through the summer of 1775, Virginia's formal militia was defunct since Lord Dunmore dissolved the House of Burgesses before they were able to extend the militia act that expired in 1773.<sup>59</sup> After extensive debate in 1775, the Third Virginia Convention's delegates re-established Virginia's traditional militia service of free white men between sixteen and fifty years old who would muster every two weeks, except during the coldest months of December through February, and have a county-wide muster twice a year.<sup>60</sup> The militia would serve as reserves should there be an invasion and would have the same pay, rules, and regulations, as regular troops.

The Convention's delegates also divided Virginia into sixteen military districts and passed ordinances to raise "regular" troops who would serve as professional full-time paid soldiers.<sup>61</sup> Botetourt County joined the counties of Bedford, Fincastle, and Pittsylvania as part of the military district of Pittsylvania.<sup>62</sup> The Pittsylvania district's troops were to consist of a company of "expert rifle-men," and Botetourt County itself

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<sup>59</sup> William Waller Hening, ed. *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, vol. VIII (Richmond: J. & G. Cochran, 1821), 503.

<sup>60</sup> McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 92-93.

<sup>61</sup> McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 93.

<sup>62</sup> Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. IX, 16; Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. IV (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978), fn 53; Tarter and Scribner, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. III, 471, fn 476.

was to raise a company to station at the mouth of the Great Kanawha at Point Pleasant.<sup>63</sup> Under orders from the commanding officer at Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the Botetourt company would follow the same regulations as other regiments except that they would not be required to meet at the general rendezvous because of their location on the western frontier along the Ohio River.<sup>64</sup> The company would consist of nine officers, two drummers, two fifers, and one hundred privates, which were typically the county's young unmarried men.<sup>65</sup> This placed a particular strain on the Greenbrier Valley and western Botetourt when there were additional orders to increase militiamen, because those who remained in the area were often older men who had families and farms that required protection, or young boys.

In addition to raising the militia and forming military districts with their own companies of regular troops, the Third Virginia Convention passed an ordinance raising companies of minutemen who would have longer and more intensive military training. The order for minutemen stated that it was "judged necessary, for the better protection of the country in times of imminent danger, that certain portions of the militia throughout the whole colony should be regularly enlisted, under the denomination of minutemen, and more strictly trained to proper discipline than hath been hitherto customary."<sup>66</sup> The Convention ordered companies of minutemen raised from the Pittsylvania district to muster for a twenty-day training soon after their enlistment and then meet twice a year,

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<sup>63</sup> Henning, *Statutes at Large*, vol. IX, 13.

<sup>64</sup> Henning, *Statutes at Large*, vol. IX, 13-14.

<sup>65</sup> The company would consist of "one captain, three lieutenants, one ensign, four serjeants, two drummers, and two fifers, and one hundred privates." See Henning, *Statutes at Large*, vol. IX, 13-14.

<sup>66</sup> Henning, *Statutes at Large*, vol. IX, 16.



on May 20 and October 30, at a convenient location chosen by the deputies. The officers and minutemen would receive one day's pay for every twenty miles traveled to and from the rendezvous location, as well as sixpence for each day instead of receiving provisions during their time at the rendezvous. Minutemen would not elect their own officers, as was precedent in the militia, and would follow the same rules as regular troops, therefore losing their flexibility and autonomy.<sup>67</sup> Embracing backcountry Virginian's style of clothing, the minutemen were to receive a hunting shirt and leggings, as well.

Patriot leaders initially instituted Virginia's minute service as an alternative to independent companies that would allow the colony's elite greater control over companies that often acted on their own terms rather than following orders.<sup>68</sup> In June 1775, Botetourt's Independent Company was representative of this unwillingness to follow orders, and an example of Albert Tillson's description of "localism" from a report stating that they had protested "going out of the Colony" after rumors that they may be ordered north.<sup>69</sup> While some companies had less convincing reasons to stay near their homes or avoid leaving Virginia, it is important to remember that backcountry counties like Botetourt easily spanned 150 miles across the Appalachian Mountains and three-fourths of that area experienced Indian attacks throughout the American Revolution.

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<sup>67</sup> McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 95-97.

<sup>68</sup> When Lord Dunmore dissolved the House of Burgesses in May 1774, he effectively dissolved

<sup>69</sup> 26 June 1775, Bedford County Committee, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. III, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 230-231; Historians argue that the independent companies' refusal to go beyond the boundaries of Virginia "undermined Virginia's solidarity with the embattled farmers of New England" and it also spurred the decision to implement the minute service as an alternative that allowed elites greater control. See Holton, *Forced Founders*, fn 166; Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk*, 45-49.

Botetourt County men faced the same challenges of farming and providing for their families as the men in eastern counties, but they also faced a nearly continuous threat of violence and the possibility of needing to coordinate an armed defense of their families and properties that made their service different from those in the eastern areas of the backcountry.

Through the summer of 1775, Botetourt County justices addressed the seemingly mundane tasks of regulating ordinaries and collecting taxes while delegates to the Third Virginia Convention restructured the colony's defenses to allow greater oversight and direction from Virginia's leaders, which placed greater demands on backcountry counties. As Greenbrier and western Botetourt settlements continued to expand after the success of Lord Dunmore's War, this expansion brought about new challenges for county defense. Settlers in Botetourt County were understandably displeased with the Virginia Convention's military restructuring because it meant that men were required for three different types of service and could be ordered away from families and homes. Additionally, Greenbrier and western Botetourt settlers began to feel the strain of service as they were most often the ones ordered out to defend the frontier. The delegates also sought ways to secure and maintain peace in the backcountry by renewing Lord Dunmore's treaties with Indians in the Ohio Country and addressing the continually increasing need for backcountry defense.

## Defending Western Botetourt

Hoping to lessen the threat of Indian raids on the backcountry, Virginia's Commissioners for Indian Affairs traveled to Fort Pitt during the fall of 1775 to meet with representatives from the Mingoes, Delawares, Wyandots, Tawas, Shawnees, and Six Nations to ensure that peace in the backcountry would continue, but their meeting also revealed that Virginians had more to fear than just attacks from Native peoples.<sup>70</sup> When the commissioners arrived at Fort Pitt, they discovered that John Connolly, Lord Dunmore's western agent, had negotiated treaties with the Indians during the summer of 1775 to prepare "the Ohio Indians to act in concert[...]against his majesty's enemies."<sup>71</sup> Connolly had also contacted militia officers in Augusta County to assure them that their land titles would be confirmed and that they would receive 300 acres of land should they support the royal governor.<sup>72</sup> Connolly planned for this diverse group of Indians and officers to unite and strike out against the Americans at the frontier forts at present-day Pittsburgh and Wheeling, West Virginia, then sweep east to the city of Alexandria where they hoped to sever communications between the northern and southern colonies.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Treaty with Western Indians, September – October 1775, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 23-127.

<sup>71</sup> "Connolly's Plot," 26 November 1775, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 136-142; Carolyn Gilman offers more insights into the theories for Connolly's actions. See Carolyn Gilman, "People of the Pen, People of the Sword: Pittsburgh in 1774," in *Frontier Cities: Encounters at the Crossroads of Empire*, eds. Jay Gitlin, Barbara Berglund, and Adam Arenson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 99-100.

<sup>72</sup> "Connolly's Plot," 26 November 1775, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 136-142; Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. IV (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978), 14-15.

<sup>73</sup> "Connolly's Plot," 26 November 1775, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 136-142; Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. IV (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978), 14-15, 82-83; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 22 December 1775, 1.

Despite John Connolly's conspiracy, Virginia's Commissioners concluded their treaty negotiations successfully and dispatched letters to inhabitants and garrisons along the Ohio and Kanawha rivers announcing the terms of the treaty.<sup>74</sup> The treaty established a boundary for both the Virginians and Native peoples along the Ohio River.<sup>75</sup> The Shawnees acknowledged that some "foolish young People" had "burnt some Houses up the Kanhawa and Committed other Irregularities without the knowledge of the Cheif of their Nation," which was likely a reference to the destruction of Fort Blair, which was burned by Indians sometime after June 1775.<sup>76</sup> In specific instructions to the commanding officer on the Kanawha, who was likely from Botetourt, the Commissioners explained the boundary along the Ohio River. Later, Greenbrier's John Stuart recounted that the garrison at Point Pleasant was established to "intercept and prevent the Indians from crossing the Ohio to our side, [and] also to prevent any whites from crossing over to the side of the Indians; and by such means to preserve a future peace."<sup>77</sup> The treaty stated that Indians could only cross to the south side of the Ohio River if they were coming to the fort for business and the Virginians stationed at the garrison would not hunt on the

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<sup>74</sup> Treaty with Western Indians, September – October 1775, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 111-112.

<sup>75</sup> Dowd notes that the Pittsburgh Treaty Council of October 1775 recognized Indian rights to Ohio lands rather than the Shawnees' right specifically and that the Americans representatives interpreted Indian to mean the Six Nations and Wyandot as they followed British-Iroquoian precedent that Delawares and Shawnees held Ohio Country lands only by Iroquoian permission. See Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 67-68.

<sup>76</sup> Brent Tarter and Robert Scribner propose that the burned houses and "other irregularities" refer to the destruction of Fort Blair. See Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. IV (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978), fn 314; Treaty with Western Indians, September – October 1775, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 111-112.

<sup>77</sup> It is unclear if William Russell was still stationed at Point Pleasant at this time; John Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars and other occurances, 1749-1780," Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

north side of the river, although they would maintain scouts and reconnaissance throughout the region.

After explaining the terms of the treaty, Captain John Neville, commander of the Fort Pitt garrison, issued specific instructions about supplies to the garrison at Point Pleasant. Neville discussed supply routes for flour and beef and noted that while flour would be cheaper if brought from the Fort Pitt area, beef could “be got upon Better Terms from Green Brier than here.”<sup>78</sup> Acquiring cattle from Greenbrier required purchasing them and hiring men to drive them across more than 150 miles of the Appalachian Mountains to the Point Pleasant garrison. Knowing that gathering cattle and other supplies required money, the Virginia Committee of Safety issued a cash advance to John Bowyer “for the purchase of provisions & Stores as Commissary to the Troops at Point Pleasant.”<sup>79</sup> This acquisition of supplies was the first of many challenges for maintaining provisions at the Point Pleasant garrison throughout the Revolution. Procuring supplies often fell to Greenbrier since that was where most of the men originated and was the easiest place to gather supplies. Greenbrier’s men were also experienced cattle drivers who were familiar with the more than 100 mile route from Camp Union to Point Pleasant as they had been responsible for herding the “beeves” during Lord Dunmore’s War.

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<sup>78</sup> “Captain Nevills Instructions,” *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. IV, 201-202.

<sup>79</sup> Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. IV (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978), 311; Though Sampson and George Mathews had been heavily involved with the procurement and transportation of flour and beef to Point Pleasant during Lord Dunmore’s War, there are no records suggesting that they continued to be involved in obtaining supplies for the Point Pleasant garrison through the American Revolution. This may have been because of the challenge of acquiring supplies as the Revolution continued, but was more likely because both Sampson and George were heavily involved in other areas of colonial defense throughout the war.

Even as the Virginia Commissioners met with Native American representatives at Fort Pitt, Lord Dunmore continued to agitate Virginians against himself and the king. Issuing a proclamation on November 15, 1775, Dunmore fulfilled his threat from the previous April to free the slaves of Virginia's rebels. The proclamation declared martial law in Virginia and required anyone "capable of bearing arms to resort to his majesty's standard" or risk forfeiting life and land; however, it was the statement that made "all indentured servants, negroes, or others (appertaining to rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear arms" that infuriated free Virginians.<sup>80</sup> Dunmore's proclamation was widely published in the *Virginia Gazette* and it appeared in Alexander Purdie's newspaper on November 24, 1775, with a heading describing "the baseness of lord Dunmore's heart, his malice and treachery against the people who were once under his government, and his officious violation of all law, justice, and humanity."<sup>81</sup> Historians see Dunmore's Proclamation as an event that propelled Virginians toward a declaration of independence not just because Dunmore angered the patriot gentry by threatening to free their slaves, but also because the proclamation had an unknown and unpredictable impact on both black and white communities.<sup>82</sup> These scholars have noted, however, that many Virginians believed they had greater concerns than the governor and "the threat from below" and this was certainly the case in western Botetourt and Greenbrier where

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<sup>80</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 24 November 1775, 2.

<sup>81</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 24 November 1775, 2; The proclamation was also published in *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 25 November 1775, 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney) 23 November 1775, 2.

<sup>82</sup> McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 138; James Corbett David, *Dunmore's New World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 104-106; Holton, *Forced Founders*, 155-161.

there were relatively few slaves and any support for Lord Dunmore had dissipated once John Connolly's plot to unite the Indians was exposed.<sup>83</sup>

Through the winter of 1775-1776, Virginia leaders and backcountry settlers constructed necessary defensive structures along the Ohio River and made preparations in the Greenbrier Valley where Indian attacks increased during the warm months. These preparations included Botetourt County justices ordering additional reports on transportation routes through Greenbrier, including considerations for whether or not a bridle way could be made along the eastern route "from Camp Union to the Mountain" on the eastern side of the valley, which would ease the process of transporting supplies into the Greenbrier Valley (see Figures 37-38).<sup>84</sup> They also examined other roads and bridle ways radiating out from the Levels of Greenbrier as the most efficient routes to expedite men and supplies from Camp Union to neighborhood forts.<sup>85</sup>

During early 1776, Captain Matthew Arbuckle, who had been recently appointed commander of the garrison at Point Pleasant, and his men from Greenbrier and western Botetourt, began a seasonal pattern that repeated itself throughout the American Revolution.<sup>86</sup> Arbuckle's orders were to enlist one hundred men for a one-year term and erect a fort at Point Pleasant, near the former site of Fort Blair, when he arrived on the

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<sup>83</sup> McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, 150.

<sup>84</sup> 19 February 1776 – 9 April 1776, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 251.

<sup>85</sup> On May 14, 1776, the county appointed James Warren as surveyor of the road "from Camp Union to William McCoy's place by Andrew Donnally's."; 14 May 1776, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 254.

<sup>86</sup> Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars".

Ohio (see Figure 39).<sup>87</sup> To aid his recruitment and the purchase of arms, Arbuckle received a cash advance of £1500 from the Convention Committee.<sup>88</sup> Arbuckle had been married just over a year, and as an example of the ways military life and domestic life were intertwined in Greenbrier, his wife Frances later recounted that her husband's men wintered at Camp Union and on their farm on Spring Creek, during the cold months of 1775-1776.<sup>89</sup> In the spring, Arbuckle and his company traveled to Fort Pitt and eventually made their way down the Ohio River to Point Pleasant where they erected Fort Randolph by mid-summer.<sup>90</sup> Arbuckle and his men were stationed at Point Pleasant continuously through the fall of 1777, when his company became part of the 12<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment of the Continental Line, and until at least the summer of 1778 with many soldiers only returning to their homes in Greenbrier for brief periods of furlough.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars".

<sup>88</sup> "Proceedings of the Committee," 8 April 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VI, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 351; "Proceedings of the Committee," 31 January 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VI, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 40.

<sup>89</sup> Mathew Arbuckle to Frances Lawrence, 7 December 1774, Botetourt County Marriage Records microfilm, LVA; Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County Reel 149, LGRC, LVA; William Richmond, Pension Record 29088, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements, [www.revwarapps.org](http://www.revwarapps.org) (accessed 24 September 2015). Hereafter, collection cited as SCRWPS; Testimony by Arbuckle's wife and son attest to the militia spending time at their farm during the winter of 1775-1776; Brent Tarter and Robert Scribner refer to Arbuckle's winter quarters in 1775-1776 as Fort Pitt. See, "Patrick Lockhart to the Chairman of the Committee of Botetourt," 14 May 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VII, pt1, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 135; Joseph C. Jefferds, Jr., *Captain Matthew Arbuckle: A Documentary Biography* (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, Inc., 1981), 79.

<sup>90</sup> George Morgan wrote, "Captain Arbuckle, with a company of Virginia forces, departed from hence yesterday for the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, where they are to rebuild the fort, and to remain till further orders from the Convention. I thought it necessary to send an Indian with them, and a proper message on the occasion to the Delawares and Shawnees, accompanied by one of his officers, which I am sure will have a good effect." See Peter Force, *American Archives*, 4<sup>th</sup> series, vol. VI (Washington, DC: M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, 1846), 476.

<sup>91</sup> Military Papers of Samuel Walker, Papers of Archibald Stuart and Briscoe Gerard Baldwin, Box 19, Acc. No 228, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.



In the spring of 1776, the election of delegates to the Fifth Virginia Convention emphasized growing distinctions between eastern and western Botetourt County that contributed to Greenbrier settlers' need to form a new county as it illuminated the lack of western Botetourt's representation in county concerns and the inability for its residents to fully participate in county governance. There were many new names among the delegates as only eighty-eight of the 134 delegates from the Fourth Virginia Convention were reelected. In Botetourt County, John Bowyer was reelected, but Andrew Lewis had entered active military service as a brigadier general in the Continental Army and was ineligible for reelection.<sup>92</sup> Botetourt freeholders elected Patrick Lockhart as their second delegate.<sup>93</sup> Lockhart lived near the Botetourt County courthouse, was a close friend of both Bowyer and Lewis, and was Sampson Mathews' brother-in-law. While Bowyer and Lockhart, and previously Lewis, were well-known throughout the Virginia backcountry, all three men were from eastern Botetourt County near present-day Roanoke, Virginia, leaving Greenbrier and western Botetourt without direct representation.

Shortly after the Convention began in early May, the delegates received news from Fort Pitt that some western Indians had met the British at Fort Detroit and trouble

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<sup>92</sup> Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VI (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 287; Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VII, pt1 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), fn 161, fn 184.

<sup>93</sup> "Election of Convention Delegates in Botetourt County," 10 April 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VI, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 368, 374; Patrick Lockhart was also a merchant in Botetourt and a business partner of Sampson and George Mathews for many of their transactions in Botetourt County, though the exact structure of their partnership is unknown.

on the frontiers was likely that summer (see Figure 40).<sup>94</sup> Patrick Lockhart reported to Botetourt's Committee that the delegates had approved 500 pounds of gunpowder and bar lead from Chiswell's Mines as a public charge to be sent to Botetourt, and they passed a resolution to refund the money and ammunition settlers furnished for the militias.<sup>95</sup> Botetourt lieutenants receiving this information noted that the ammunition would encourage the settlers who "were intirely destitute of that Article."<sup>96</sup> Receiving a letter from Lockhart that the delegates believed the Shawnees and Delawares would maintain a peace with the Virginians even though other Indian groups might be troublesome, William Preston, who was familiar with the challenges of living in an area constantly under threat of Indian attack, noted Greenbrier's particularly precarious situation "Should the Tawaws, Wyandots & those Tribes beyond the Ohio break out, this County and the Inhabitants on Greenbrier will be in a distress Situation."<sup>97</sup> Though Preston believed a full blown war was unlikely without the support of the Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingo, he suggested acquiring more powder and supplies in preparation because those granted by the Convention would not sustain the region in a war.

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<sup>94</sup> "Lockhart to the Chairman," 14 May 1776, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. VII, pt1, 135; The Committee of Safety ordered 2,250 pounds of powder to be furnished to the frontier counties with Botetourt receiving 500 pounds.

<sup>95</sup> Chiswell Mines were located near present-day Fort Chiswell at the junction of I-81 and I-77 in Virginia; Patrick Lockhart to chairman of the Botetourt committee, 14 May 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 155-156; "Lockhart to the Chairman," 14 May 1776, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. VII, pt1, 135.

<sup>96</sup> William Preston to William Fleming, 30 May 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 156.

<sup>97</sup> William Preston lived in the now defunct Fincastle County near present-day Blacksburg; Preston to Fleming, 30 May 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 156.

The Fifth Virginia Convention discussed the issue of recruitment a week later and put forward a resolution to raise 150 men, under the command of officers from Augusta and Botetourt County, to defend the frontiers. They suggested stationing 100 men at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, to supplement the men who were already there with Mathew Arbuckle, and fifty at the fort at present-day Wheeling.<sup>98</sup> The delegates also resolved to reiterate the bonds of the treaty with the friendly Shawnees and Delawares on the Ohio and assure them “that if any encroachments have been made by the people of this Country upon their lands beyond the boundary established by the Treaty held at Fort Stanwix they have been without our Concurrence and shall be removed.”<sup>99</sup> These actions by the Convention’s delegates simultaneously took more men away from their homes in western Botetourt and Greenbrier while also condemning the actions of settlers from those areas who were most likely to be among those who pressed westward.

As the Fifth Virginia Convention passed resolutions affecting backcountry counties, western Botetourt’s freeholders petitioned the Convention to ask for a remedy to their omission from county and colony business. Settlements in backcountry counties expanded west faster than the laws to govern them and when an earlier convention passed an ordinance taxing western settlers in Augusta and Fincastle counties, Botetourt was not included.<sup>100</sup> As a result of this, western Botetourt’s freeholders did not pay taxes, which is evident in the lists of tithables collected by Botetourt County the previous year, and

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<sup>98</sup> 21 May 1776, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. VII, pt 1, 206-207.

<sup>99</sup> 21 May 1776, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. VII, pt 1, 206-207.

<sup>100</sup> 12 June 1776, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. VII, pt 2, 447.

were not eligible to vote in the county's elections.<sup>101</sup> Though Patrick Lockhart and John Bowyer were known throughout Botetourt County, the western freeholders' inability to legally participate in the election process likely explains why Botetourt's delegates were from the eastern part of the county. Western Botetourt's petition was read aloud at the Convention on June 12, 1776, as the settlers explained,

That by a former Ordinance of Convention they have been excluded from a Tax on their lands and have not the privilege of voting for Representatives or Committeemen for their county and declaring their readiness to contribute to the Common Cause with the rest of their Countrymen they pray that they may be put upon the same footing with the Inhabitants of the Western Waters of other counties and that a new Election of Delegates and Committeemen may be appointed for their said County that being more subject than other Counties to depredations from the Indians they request that some Measures may be taken towards putting them in a proper state of Defence.<sup>102</sup>

The Convention referred the petition to the Committee of Propositions and Grievances for inquiry and requested that a report be made to the entire Convention.<sup>103</sup> Though the petition did not receive a direct response, a few weeks later, the petitioners were partially granted their request when an additional tax of one shilling for every one hundred acres was levied throughout the colony, including lands in western Botetourt, thus bringing the area into county governance and allowing freeholders to participate in elections.<sup>104</sup> The Convention's resolution on this additional tax stated that the inhabitants on the western waters of Botetourt County, who were in similar circumstances as the

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<sup>101</sup> 12 June 1776, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. VII, pt 2, 447.

<sup>102</sup> 12 June 1776, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. VII, pt 2, 447.

<sup>103</sup> 12 June 1776, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. VII, pt 2, 447.

<sup>104</sup> 12 June 1776, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. VII, pt 2, 447; Hening, *Statutes at Large*, vol. IX, 144.

inhabitants of Fincastle, be permitted the same privileges in voting in the election of representatives.<sup>105</sup>

The petition from western Botetourt's freeholders to the Fifth Virginia Convention provides insight into the region's political situation and the settlers' desire to have input in county governance. Pension records also provide additional information about the settlers' perspective on their role in the colony's defense. A Greenbrier settler describing revolutionary era Greenbrier noted that it was "from its distance from the interior and the proximity to the wilderness extremely exposed to danger from the Indians inhabiting to the West and South who were generally Hostile to the Americans" and that it served as "a protection to the interior settlements."<sup>106</sup> As a defensive barrier for interior settlements, residents were expected to provide troops for Fort Randolph or expeditions against the British or Native peoples across the Ohio River, and these requirements diminished the settlers' ability to defend their homes, which were often under threat of attack.

The Second Continental Congress recognized the persistent assault on frontier settlements when they published the *Declaration of Independence* in the early summer of 1776. The *Declaration* included a number of grievances relating to Virginia; however, one in particular addressed experiences in western Botetourt. The Congress charged that the King endeavored "to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian

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<sup>105</sup> 12 June 1776, *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. VII, pt 2, 453; 5 July 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VII, pt 2, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 706.

<sup>106</sup> Daniel Taylor, Pension Record S17137, Transcribed by Will Graves, SCRWPS.

Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.”<sup>107</sup> While the statement could have been relative to general experiences in Pennsylvania, New York, or backcountry regions of other southern colonies, it was particularly pertinent to Virginian’s recent discovery of John Connolly’s plot, and its inclusion in the *Declaration* highlighted backcountry defense as a challenge to the United States’ survival.

After a year of organizing frontier defense in the aftermath of Lord Dunmore’s treachery at the powder magazine, the *Declaration of Independence* and formation of the United States made preserving backcountry territory and settlements even more vital for the success of the newly formed nation. When Virginia’s commissioners uncovered John Connolly’s plot and shortly after that Lord Dunmore carried out his threat to free the slaves of Virginia’s patriots in his proclamation issued in November 1775, Virginia’s free population sought assurances of their security. While the early years of dissatisfaction with British policies brought cries of “no taxation without representation” from American colonists, in 1776, western Botetourt’s freeholders asked for taxation in order to have representation in Virginia’s political affairs since they were already required to participate in its defense.<sup>108</sup> After the *Declaration*, backcountry settlers faced widespread concern that John Connolly’s plot would be realized if their British foes and western

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<sup>107</sup> United States. *In Congress, July 4, 1776, a declaration by the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled*. (Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap, 1776), <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003576546/> (accessed 28 August 2016).

<sup>108</sup> For a discussion of Virginian’s views on British taxation, see Holton, *Forced Founders*, 46-47.

Indians formed an alliance and could result in the devastation of frontier settlements, especially those in western Botetourt and Greenbrier.

### **The “general Apprehension”<sup>109</sup>**

The backcountry areas, especially western Botetourt and Greenbrier, experienced many hardships that were unknown in the Piedmont and Tidewater regions of Virginia, and in early August 1776, William Preston, William Fleming and John Stuart exchanged a series of letters reflecting these concerns and challenges. The men’s letters particularly addressed the challenges associated with enlistment, the constant rumors of Indian attack, and finding and transporting supplies in a mountainous region. William Preston communicated the challenges of raising troops as the “general Apprehension” that there would be an Indian war inhibited drafting men from Botetourt who were concerned for their homes and families; however, should there be “any assurance that these Nations would not strike this Season,” a large militia could be raised.<sup>110</sup> William Fleming noted issues of raising men from Greenbrier, which was already depleted since Matthew Arbuckle’s company was on its way to Point Pleasant.<sup>111</sup> John Stuart, who received a report that a “Large Number of Indians Discovered making for our frontiers,” noted that as Greenbrier was already “at a great loss for men as well as ammunition,” he feared

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<sup>109</sup> William Preston to the President of the Committee of Safety, 2 August 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 174.

<sup>110</sup> Preston to the President of the Committee of Safety, 2 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 174.

<sup>111</sup> William Fleming to William Preston, 2 August 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 176.

“that without some Immediate Relife of Boath,” he was “persuaded our Country will be soon Layd Waste” if the rumors proved true.<sup>112</sup>

While relationships between Virginians and Native peoples along the Ohio ebbed and flowed, concerns about alliances between the British and Native groups spurred new fears and the need for fortifications to protect the Greenbrier community. John Stuart reiterated William Fleming’s observation that “the Best of our young men” were with Matthew Arbuckle at Point Pleasant and that those left behind were mainly married men.<sup>113</sup> With so few able-bodied men, Stuart explained that the settlers’ standard method of defense was to “pen themselves in little Forts,” which he believed would be “the Readiest method of having themselves Destroyed.”<sup>114</sup> The only alternative, according to Stuart, would be the construction of “proper fortification for the Deffence of the whole.”<sup>115</sup> When Fleming replied to Stuart, he responded specifically to Stuart’s concerns about fortifications and issued a memo to Greenbrier’s officers that forts should be constructed in areas that were easily accessible to settlers as it was “highly Necessary that the Inhabitants should have places of defence prepared to which they may retire in case of Necessity.”<sup>116</sup> Fleming suggested that Stuart send men to the areas of the Greenbrier and New rivers where Indians most often forded the river, and ordered

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<sup>112</sup> John Stuart to William Fleming, 2 August 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 177-178.

<sup>113</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 2 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 177-178.

<sup>114</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 2 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 177-178.

<sup>115</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 2 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 177-178.

<sup>116</sup> William Fleming to John Stuart, 4 August 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 180-181.



Greenbrier's officers to have their companies ready to rendezvous with Stuart to "go in Quest of & repell the enemy" should they discover "Murder or Mischeif being done."<sup>117</sup>

To successfully defend Greenbrier, John Stuart stationed men from Greenbrier militia companies throughout the valley, and William Fleming drafted some additional companies from other areas of Botetourt to station themselves at other forts in the area. Stuart drafted twenty men from two Greenbrier companies to construct a fort at Camp Union that could hold the majority of inhabitants living on the Levels of Greenbrier and they remained at the fort after its construction.<sup>118</sup> Stuart also sent twenty-five men to the fort on Muddy Creek, which was known as Arbuckle's Fort, and stationed another company on Indian Creek.<sup>119</sup> In addition, Stuart recommended stationing one more company farther up the valley, possibly at the site of Andrew Donnally's home, which he identified as another good site for a fort "as it is convenient for a number of people & will cover a great many more."<sup>120</sup> These forts supported various neighborhood communities within the Greenbrier Valley with the intent that upon hearing of the threat of attack,

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<sup>117</sup> Fleming to Stuart, 4 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 180-181.

<sup>118</sup> Stuart drafted 10 men from his own company and 10 from Captain John Brown's Company; John Stuart to William Fleming, 10 August 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 181-182; William Fleming to John Stuart, 24 August 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 184; John Stuart to William Fleming, 3 September 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 193-195; Tradition states that this fort was named "Fort Savannah;" however, John Stuart, who was the commander of the militia stationed there, continued to refer to the site as Camp Union. The name seems to have originated from several local traditions. The first is that the area was referred to a "savannah" because it was a prairie-like level area of land without trees and the second is from a pension record from William Richmond of Greenbrier County, who said that he served at "the Savannah Fort (now Lewisburg)" in October 1775. See J. R. Cole, *History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, WV: J. R. Cole, 1917), 103; William Richmond, Pension Record 29088, SCRWPS.

<sup>119</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 10 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 181-182.

<sup>120</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 10 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 182.

settlers could flee to the fort where larger numbers of settlers would provide greater protection.

To defend these forts, William Fleming drafted men from George Givens' Botetourt County company, with fifteen men stationed at Vanbibber's Fort in the southern Greenbrier Valley and another fifteen at Donnally's Fort, located northwest of present-day Lewisburg, West Virginia (see Figures 37-38). Other men from Givens' company were ordered to remain under John Stuart's command "at [Camp] Union or else where as may be most necessary for the protection or defence of the Inhabitants."<sup>121</sup> As the men settled into the forts, scouting was the first line of defense against Indian attack, so Captain John Vanbibber sent scouts out from his fort "to watch from the mouth of Greenbrier towards the head of paint creek."<sup>122</sup> John Stuart sent men to watch the pass from the Little Meadow River to the "warrior fording," and the area from "Below the forks of the Road towards the head of Gauley."<sup>123</sup> While John Stuart facilitated Greenbrier's defense and was in near-constant communication with William Fleming, he also continued running the store in the Greenbrier Valley.

Entries in Stuart's store records are minimal throughout 1775 and early 1776, and primarily feature payments on accounts in the store ledger, but in July 1776, entries swell in Stuart's daybook and the associated ledger accounts. This increase in sales and

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<sup>121</sup> William Fleming to George Givens, 2 September 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 192-193.

<sup>122</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 10 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 181-182.

<sup>123</sup> Jacob Lockhart and Josiah McDowell went to the Little Meadow River and George Davidson and William Johnston went to Gauley; Stuart to Fleming, 10 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 181-182.

account entries corresponds with John Stuart's company constructing a fort in Greenbrier at Camp Union. While the items sold during the earlier years of the store's existence spanned all types of goods and wares, the items in Stuart's daybook tended toward items necessary for military life, including a saddle, a mattock, stockings, leggings, buckram and cow hides, salt, a pair of moccasins, written as "malkesons," and oats for the horses, in addition to entries for cash "out of soldiers money," "due you on payroll," or "lent" at Camp Union.<sup>124</sup> Based on these items and changes, it's evident that the store had shifted from a place of general merchandise to more of a military commissary that could supply the men with some of the necessities for military life.

Even as Greenbrier's militia built fortifications and scouted the area looking for approaching Indians, John Stuart knew that surviving an assault required an adequate supply of ammunition. Powder, lead, and flints were popular items at the Greenbrier store in the early 1770s; however, as these items became scarce in the backcountry, they were also absent from the store accounts.<sup>125</sup> Stuart reported that his supply of nearly 550 weight of lead from the commissary after Lord Dunmore's War had dwindled with Matthew Arbuckle taking at least 200 weight to Point Pleasant as the first line of defense for the Greenbrier settlements.<sup>126</sup> John Vanbibber had an additional thirty-five pounds at his fort while Andrew Hamilton took about twenty weight to restock his depleted supply at Muddy Creek. While all of these men were in the southern Greenbrier Valley, settlers

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<sup>124</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.

<sup>125</sup> Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.

<sup>126</sup> John Stuart to William Fleming, 3 September 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 193-195.

farther north were a particular concern to Stuart as they were “Intirely Destitute of ammunition of any Kind” and he knew of “nobody nigh me that hath any Quantity of powder that can be Secured.”<sup>127</sup> As Stuart sought to supply Greenbrier settlers, William Fleming notified him that a recent shipment of powder from Williamsburg was partially damaged, so he was exchanging it, which would further delay its arrival. Though struggling to supply Greenbrier, John Stuart was reassured to know the garrison at Point Pleasant was well-supplied with ammunition since it was the first line of defense and alarm, and by mid-August, Matthew Arbuckle and his men had erected Fort Randolph near the site of the old Fort Blair.

Through the summer months, Arbuckle’s garrison heard rumors of an alliance between the Shawnees and British, and attacks by other Native peoples throughout the backcountry. While the Virginians were already concerned about an alliance between England and the Wyandots, Tawas, and Mingoies, an alliance between the British, who were stationed at Detroit, and the Shawnees, could result in a complete disaster on Virginia’s frontier (see Figure 40).<sup>128</sup> Historian Colin Calloway explained that unlike military campaigns in the east, in the backcountry, there was guerilla warfare between Indians and white settlers “that was localized, vicious, and tolerated no neutrals.”<sup>129</sup> Of greatest concern for western Botetourt, tensions between the British commander at

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<sup>127</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 10 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 181-182; Stuart to Fleming, 3 September 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 193-195.

<sup>128</sup> The British acquired Detroit after the French and Indian War. See Gregory Evans Dowd, *War Under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 60-62.

<sup>129</sup> Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 26.

Detroit and Americans at Fort Pitt created a “diplomatic tug-of-war” in which the Indians’ allegiance was the prize, but there were diverse Indian groups who ascribed to differing alliances.<sup>130</sup> In Fincastle County and other southwestern backcountry counties, there were multiple reports of a joint Creek-Cherokee threat and additional fears of a pan-Indian alliance, which could unite more than a dozen northern Indian groups.<sup>131</sup> The Cherokee threat to the Virginia backcountry effectively ended by September 1776 when William Christian led an expedition against the Cherokee towns that decimated any plans for resistance.<sup>132</sup>

Matthew Arbuckle’s letter to William Fleming reflected Virginians’ concerns that the Shawnees, and their principal chief Cornstalk, who had thus far been the biggest proponent of the Shawnees’ neutrality, would form a treaty with the English at Detroit and become an additional enemy on the western frontier.<sup>133</sup> Reiterating that the threat of attack would not diminish his resolve to defend the country, Arbuckle stated,

My Country Shall Never have to Say I Dare not Stand the Attacks of the Indians or fly the Cause they are So Justly fighting for, on the Contrary I will Loose the Last Drop of My Blood in Defence of My Country when fighting for that Blessed Enjoyment Calld Liberty and Should all the Indians Nations Join in Confederacy and attack me here tho I had But Twenty men I would Defend it with My Latest Breath, and Glory In the Cause.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 36.

<sup>131</sup> McDonnell, *Politics of War*, 249.

<sup>132</sup> McDonnell, *Politics of War*; fn 249; While Christian’s partial muster list includes the surnames of many backcountry Virginia settlers, Greenbrier or western Botetourt men are not identified in his list. See Cherokee Expedition, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 1419-1421.

<sup>133</sup> Arbuckle to Fleming, 15 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 185-187; Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 75-76.

<sup>134</sup> Arbuckle to Fleming, 15 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 185-187.

When Arbuckle's concerns about a Shawnee alliance with the British reached Greenbrier the settlers were alarmed and many people moved their families into the neighborhood forts in response.<sup>135</sup>

In addition to a possible Indian attack, Matthew Arbuckle also faced more immediate concerns as the terms of enlistment began to expire for his company, and although the men were well-supplied with powder and lead, provisions were less plentiful. Arbuckle sent officers east in hopes that new recruits would enlist and arrive at Point Pleasant's Fort Randolph before the others left to avoid those who remained becoming "prey to the thirsty Savages and the Garrison be Destroyd."<sup>136</sup> The new recruits returning to Fort Randolph would bring some cattle with them and Andrew Donnally and Archer Mathews had also purchased "a large Drove of Cattle & hogs for the use of the men at the Point" and expected to transport the animals to Fort Randolph before winter.<sup>137</sup> Though meat would be plentiful, Arbuckle was in desperate need of salt which was a "presious article," so John Stuart supplied the men joining Arbuckle's company with salt from his own supply.<sup>138</sup> In addition to seasoning food, salt was essential for preserving meats, so they would have provisions to survive an assault on the

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<sup>135</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 3 September 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 193-195.

<sup>136</sup> Arbuckle to Fleming, 15 August 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 185-187.

<sup>137</sup> Andrew Donnally and Archer Mathews to William Fleming, 1 November 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 209; William Fleming to Andrew Donnally and Archer Mathews, 3 November 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 209-210; Archer Mathews was a brother of Sampson and George Mathews and lived near Matthew Arbuckle in Greenbrier, John Stuart to William Fleming, 16 September 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 197-199, footnote 33.

<sup>138</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 3 September 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 193-195.

garrison if they were unable to hunt or access the cattle and hogs who were left to wander in the woods around the fort.

In the midst of Mathew Arbuckle's efforts to gather new recruits and supplies for Fort Randolph, William Fleming received orders from Williamsburg to raise men to march to Fort Pitt, where a large numbers of Indians "under the pretence of treating with the commissioners" had gathered, and send another company to Point Pleasant in case of an assault.<sup>139</sup> Fleming sent the orders on to Greenbrier, but John Stuart struggled to raise additional recruits for Fort Randolph when the region was already strained with Arbuckle's enlistments and the mens' own need to protect their families in an attack. In eastern Botetourt, militia officers were able to raise about thirty men to reinforce Fort Randolph and fulfill the orders from Williamsburg, but when they arrived in Greenbrier, they were unwilling to go farther with such small numbers and waited at Camp Union until an additional thirty or forty men arrived from eastern Botetourt.<sup>140</sup> The struggle to find recruits was representative of the disconnect between orders from Williamsburg to raise troops and the reality that western Botetourt and Greenbrier settlers faced challenges that were different than the eastern area of Botetourt County, or interior counties that did not have to worry about protecting their homes and families from Indians.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Page to Fleming, 9 September 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 196-197.

<sup>140</sup> John Stuart's recently constructed fort at Camp Union is identified as "Fort Charles in the Sevannah" by Captain William McKee who arrived in Greenbrier from eastern Botetourt with additional recruits. "Fort Charles" is surely named after Charles Lewis, the backcountry men's hero of Lord Dunmore's War, and Andrew Lewis' brother; Stuart to Fleming, 16 September 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 197-199; William McKee to William Fleming 30 September 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 204.

<sup>141</sup> The multifaceted needs in Greenbrier and other areas of the backcountry created unique challenges; however, recruitment was a concern throughout Virginia at different points throughout the war. See Albert

Through September 1776, contradictory reports kept western Botetourt and Greenbrier in a nearly constant state of chaos and fear of an Indian war. While John Stuart was unable to recruit Greenbrier men for Fort Randolph and eastern Botetourt men refused to go to Point Pleasant without substantially more men, Matthew Arbuckle's men continued to return to Greenbrier as their enlistments ended. Arbuckle's men brought word that the Indians had withdrawn from Fort Pitt and there was no longer an immediate threat of an attack. William McKee, who was one of the officers from eastern Botetourt, reported that the news from Fort Randolph made Greenbrier settlers "at Preseant Quite easy" as Arbuckle's men reassured them that "the Shawanese are averse to any Hostility agst us (God Grant that temper may long Continue with them)," but then scouts in Greenbrier near the warrior fording reported that they "heared guns & seen som signs & seems to be much persuaded its Indians but could never discover the certainty."<sup>142</sup> As was often the case with backcountry communication, McKee was writing to Fleming about Greenbrier's more peaceful situation just as an express from Fort Pitt was making its way to Point Pleasant with news that "four companies of Indians [had] gone out for war" with one group heading for Kentucky and one crossing the Monongahela River near Fort Pitt, and two groups crossing the Ohio to "strick at Greenbrier."<sup>143</sup> Despite the many accounts warning of an inevitable Indian attack, ultimately there were no large-scale

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H. Tillson, Jr. *Accommodating Revolutions: Virginia's Northern Neck in an Era of Transformations, 1760-1810* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 205-209.

<sup>142</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 16 September 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 197-199; McKee to Fleming 30 September 1776, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 204.

<sup>143</sup> John Cook to Andrew Hamilton, 2 October 1776, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 206.



attacks in western Botetourt or Greenbrier during the fall of 1776; however, rumors of attacks were ongoing.

With more of Mathew Arbuckle's men returning home and the Fort Randolph garrison weakened, receiving a warning prior to an attack was even more important than usual, so Indian spies were sent out along the Ohio River. Providing insight into life at Fort Randolph and the tension that existed between the Virginians and Ohio Indians along the river, Arbuckle described the experience of two of his spies. Arbuckle sent the spies across the Ohio River and after nine days they returned to Fort Randolph, which is within a mile of the river bank, when "they saw some Indian Signs & was immediately fired on by an Indian not above eight yards Distance."<sup>144</sup> Arbuckle went on to recount the details of this interaction with an unknown Indian nation, though he thought they were likely Shawnees or Mingoes, to John Stuart, writing,

Just at the very moment the foremost of the Spies was jerking his Gun off his shoulder in order to Shoot & the Indian Bullet took the Box of his Gun (just Opposite his Breast) & lodged there the Spy received very little Damage only grazed on the Arm in two or three Places either by Part of the Bullet or of the Box lid—Such as Buck Shot might have done—The Spies Shot at him as soon as Possible Both, & he fell But recovered immediately & he & his Partner Cleared them selves as quick as Possible, with the loss of his Shot Pouch Powder horn & many other little articles the Damnd Savages had the assurance to Camp there within a Mile of this Fort but on their own Side of the River. they were so Provident as to Bring a String for a Prisoner but unluckily lost it in the fray along with the other Articles.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Matthew Arbuckle to John Stuart, 2 November 1776, Draper Mss. 1U40, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>145</sup> Arbuckle to Stuart, 2 November 1776, Draper Mss. 1U40, Microfilm, SHSW.

The two spies made it back to the fort, and Arbuckle continued to send men to patrol the river “up, Down, & Over the Ohio Constantly,” for the protection of the men at the fort and settlers throughout the area, writing that he would “always endeavor to Protect the Inhabitants on the Frontiers to the utmost of my power.”<sup>146</sup> Even as Arbuckle expressed the desire to protect the masses of frontier settlers, his letter was a reminder of his personal sacrifices when he asked Stuart to give “Mrs. Arbuckle” an update on his circumstances because his dedication to frontier defense had kept him away from his own family for more than six months.<sup>147</sup>

1776 was a watershed year for the American colonies and their actions against Britain, but it proved to be relatively quiet for western Botetourt and Greenbrier’s settlers. The region dealt with constant rumors of Indian attack; however, except for a few minor skirmishes, the Virginian’s 1775 treaty with the Ohio Indians remained in place and the Ohio River was still respected as a boundary. Although a full-scale Indian war did not happen, the need for ammunition and provisions, and more men willing to leave their homes and families, was ever-present for John Stuart and other backcountry leaders. Botetourt’s militia officers and justices struggled to enlist and transport men and supplies throughout the region and also dealt with concerns that settlers who had long-term relationships with the Indians could desert their fellow Virginians in favor of their Native connections. Western Botetourt’s freeholders sought and received a role in county governance through their petition to the Fifth Virginia Convention, which

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<sup>146</sup> Arbuckle to Stuart, 2 November 1776, Draper Mss. 1U40, Microfilm, SHSW.

<sup>147</sup> Arbuckle to Stuart, 2 November 1776, Draper Mss. 1U40, Microfilm, SHSW.

strengthened their communities as active participants in county business, but also further laid the groundwork for the creation of Greenbrier County the following year. This period also brought about the construction of more fortifications in the Greenbrier Valley, which resulted in greater defensive strategies for the communities and more settlers “forting up” when there was a threat of Indian attack.

### **New Threats and Challenges**

In the spring of 1777, Greenbrier settlers’ expressed growing concerns that even if they preserved their homes and community from Indian attack, they would lose their land holdings to land speculators and land companies. On May 21, 1777, five Greenbrier settlers living on the Sinkholes, or “Sinks,” in the southern portion of the Greenbrier Valley petitioned the Council stating “every man settling upon unimproved vacant land, may have, or be intitled to a quantity of Land in full proportion to his improvement.”<sup>148</sup> The petitioners described each of their situations and how they came to settle their land, revealing a diversity of settlement experiences and land claims, although all settled in the area between 1770 and 1774.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> The five petitioners were James Alexander, James Handley, William Blanton, Francis Tincher, and James Gwinn; Alexander, James & Others: Petition, Greenbrier County, 21 May 1777, Legislative Petitions Digital Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA. Hereafter collection cited as LPDC, LVA.

<sup>149</sup> Many of the petitioners’ statements are substantiated by the Greenbrier Company surveys in 1774 (which were signed by Samuel Lewis), Greenbrier County surveys in the early 1780s, Botetourt County Tithables, or Sampson and George Mathews’ store records. See Greenbrier Company Surveys from the Virginia Land Office, 1751-1776, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA; Greenbrier County Survey Book, 1:361; Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County Reel 149, LGRC, LVA; Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784; Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.

Though there are distinctions between each case, all five men believed they had the right to settle on the land based on the specific circumstances surrounding their property acquisition, but had been told by Andrew Lewis, or his son Samuel, that there was an error with their claim. Each man had applied to Andrew Lewis and offered to pay for their settlements but “his excellency refuse[d] to make them any right whatsoever.”<sup>150</sup> Although Andrew Lewis is one of the most well remembered backcountry leaders of the revolutionary era, and would be respected for his military exploits, there was a sense of frustration in 1777 that the Lewises had a monopoly on land in the area because of their role in land companies and land speculation. The Lewis family had many land interests, including a prominent role in the Greenbrier Company, which surveyed and granted the lands throughout the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>151</sup> The five petitioners explained that for that reason, “though very unwilling to trouble our superiors, as the last resource,” they petitioned to seek redress and know “whether they may continue to possess their respective plantations, on reasonable terms, and what these terms may be, or give up them and labour, as lost.”<sup>152</sup> The men from the Sinkholes were not the only ones to petition the Council about their land holdings or express frustration with land companies.

A few days later, the Council again addressed concerns from backcountry settlers about their land claims and the tyranny of land companies and speculators. The petition

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<sup>150</sup> Alexander, James, et al., 21 May 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>151</sup> Andrew’s brother Thomas was the surveyor for Augusta County and the Lewis family raised its status through its land speculating activities. See Katharine L. Brown and Kenneth W. Keller, “Searching for Status: Virginia’s Irish Tract, 1770s-1790s,” in *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011), 124-126.

<sup>152</sup> Alexander, James, 21 May 1777, LPDC, LVA.

was submitted by approximately 150 inhabitants of Botetourt, Washington and Montgomery counties who were “impressed with the sense of the hardships that would result from Government granting to private Companies of Gentlemen large tracts of land.”<sup>153</sup> Many of these settlers, like the petitioners from the Sinkholes area, had been situated on their lands for years “with great Fatigue and Expence, frequently at the Peril of our Lives from the Savages,” but they sought permanent titles to their landholdings because their claims were constantly being infringed upon by the land companies and land speculators.<sup>154</sup> These petitioners were not from among the wealthiest of society, but in these frontier counties they were able to acquire land, so they were willing to face the hardships of backcountry life.

The petitioners from Botetourt, Washington and Montgomery counties noted that they had appealed to the previous assembly without redress, but “now as a government of our own is assumed in which the Principles of Liberty, and the Rights of the People are clearly and justly defined,” they were petitioning the Council again with greater hope of a resolution.<sup>155</sup> In resubmitting this appeal, the petitioners also recognized the leverage they had as Virginia’s elites were under pressure to meet the demands of the Commonwealth’s free white men to maintain their support for the Revolution.<sup>156</sup> Though not identifying the specific land company, the petitioners described past experiences with land company agents who demanded exorbitant prices for the land instead of the

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<sup>153</sup> Citizens of Botetourt, Washington, & Montgomery: Petition, 24 May 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>154</sup> Citizens: Petition, 24 May 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>155</sup> Citizens: Petition, 24 May 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>156</sup> Holton, *Forced Founders*, 165; McDonnell, *Politics of War*, 6, 135-175; Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 255-260.

moderate ones stipulated by the government as proof of “the Schemes of Imposition” implemented by land company representatives whose “mercenary Views are incompatible with the real good of the community.”<sup>157</sup> Echoing earlier concerns in western Botetourt about representation in county governance, the petitioners noted that a favorable response to their claims would place them “on a footing with the Freeholders in this state.”<sup>158</sup> Linking their hardships to the patriot cause, the petitioners noted that land company schemes would have as “injurious a Tendency in the back Country as the Plan of British Taxation would have had on American Property.”<sup>159</sup> By petitioning the Assembly, these settlers demonstrated that they understood their contributions to Virginia, had literally sacrificed their lives for the state’s defense, and were willing to utilize the ideology of the Revolution to seek the justice they believed they deserved for themselves.

In the midst of seeking American independence, western Botetourt and Greenbrier settlers faced new threats and challenges in the form of questions about their land claims. Though these concerns were not entirely new as they built on longstanding issues related to claiming lands in a remote area without easy access to local governance, they came to the forefront at a time when the settlers were particularly uneasy. The fact that the disputes over land claims were also connected to the Lewis family and other backcountry elites involved with land companies further complicated settlers’ concerns; however, they saw the new nation’s leaders proclaim a philosophy of “Life, Liberty and

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<sup>157</sup> Citizens: Petition, 24 May 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>158</sup> Citizens: Petition, 24 May 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>159</sup> Citizens: Petition, 24 May 1777, LPDC, LVA.

the pursuit of Happiness,” which stirred them to claim “the Principles of Liberty” for themselves and their community.<sup>160</sup>

### **Another Expedition to the Ohio Country**

While much of the spring of 1777 focused on local affairs and concerns, warmer weather meant that John Stuart once again turned to recruiting men and acquiring supplies for Fort Randolph.<sup>161</sup> As Stuart began the arduous process of enlistment, Matthew Arbuckle arrived with news that Governor Patrick Henry, Virginia’s first governor, had petitioned Congress to continue the regular troops stationed on the Ohio, previously Arbuckle’s company, which had become part of the 12<sup>th</sup> Virginia regiment of the Continental Line in the fall of 1776. Stuart hoped that this news would delay the need for Greenbrier’s recruits, which created “much inconvenience to many of the people.”<sup>162</sup> Stuart found that many men refused to enlist and decided that, should Greenbrier men still be necessary at Fort Randolph, he would need a new strategy to find recruits.<sup>163</sup> The lack of recruits was in part because of the depreciation of Continental currency, but also because of the variety of options available for men seeking military service, such as state regiments or local militias, which would keep them closer to their homes. With recruits lacking, the threads of kinship, community, and political unity were commonly the

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<sup>160</sup> United States. *In Congress, July 4, 1776*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003576546/>; Citizens: Petition, 24 May 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>161</sup> John Stuart to William Fleming, 21 March 1777, in *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 239.

<sup>162</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 21 March 1777, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 239.

<sup>163</sup> There was a problem finding recruits for the Continental Army throughout the colonies and quotas for enlistment were never met. See John A. Ruddiman, *Becoming Men of Some Consequence: Youth and Military Service in the Revolutionary War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 50-51.

motivation for service throughout the American colonies and left many men with no choice but to volunteer when members of their family and neighbors enlisted alongside them.<sup>164</sup> In Greenbrier, Stuart knew from his own experience that a combination of the military chain of command and peer pressure would offer the best results for recruitment, and he determined that enlistments would be more successful if each captain drafted men from his own company and prosecuted any delinquents, which would both maintain the military hierarchy and the men's respect for authority.<sup>165</sup>

Early summer of 1777 also brought plans for offensive action against the Native peoples who were rumored to be forming an alliance with the British at Detroit, according to reports from General Edward Hand, the Continental Army's commander at Fort Pitt (see Figure 40). The events surrounding Hand's expedition must be pieced together from myriad letters and accounts, but years later, Greenbrier's John Stuart recounted the events fully in his memoir. While the Wyandots, Mingoes, Tawas, and others were rumored to have an alliance with the British, Stuart explained that Hand intended to attack the Shawnee Towns "to chastise them so as to compel them to a neutrality."<sup>166</sup> Hand planned to collect troops from the area around Fort Pitt and travel down the Ohio River to Point Pleasant where they would rendezvous with men from Augusta and Botetourt counties and, in a move echoing Lord Dunmore's 1774 expedition, proceed across the Ohio to the Shawnee Towns. Hand was ultimately forced to disband this expedition because of a lack of recruits, but it prompted events in western

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<sup>164</sup> Ruddiman, *Becoming Men of Some Consequence*, 22-23.

<sup>165</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 21 March 1777, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 241, 239.

<sup>166</sup> Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars".



Botetourt that proved to be a turning point for backcountry Virginians' relationship with the Shawnees.

Through the early summer months, Edward Hand, Virginia's Governor Patrick Henry, and Botetourt County Lieutenant William Fleming corresponded with orders for recruits and questions about who had the authority to order out men.<sup>167</sup> On June 3, Hand drafted a memo ordering men from Botetourt to march to the forts at Wheeling and Point Pleasant, and Patrick Henry soon replied with an explanation of Virginia's militia's chain of command, which started with the Governor, and support for Hand's expedition.<sup>168</sup> Henry explained that only orders directly from Virginia's governor could muster the county militias, but gave Hand permission to call out men from the backcountry counties, including Botetourt, and to direct Matthew Arbuckle's men at Point Pleasant.<sup>169</sup> While Patrick Henry was well aware of backcountry hardships as Virginia's governor, he was apparently concerned that Hand was oblivious or insensitive toward backcountry concerns. Henry cautioned Hand saying, "I have Confidence that whilst you exert yourself in defending the Frontier & chastising the Enemy, you will not forget the Domestic concerns of the people composing the Militia. Indeed they will do well to

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<sup>167</sup> Downes describes the Hands challenge of calling out men in Pennsylvania who had a similar response to the Virginians. See Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968), 205.

<sup>168</sup> Memorandum, unsigned, 3 June 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 4; Patrick Henry to Edward Hand, 3 July 1776, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 16.

<sup>169</sup> Patrick Henry to Edward Hand, 27 July 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 30-33.

<sup>169</sup> Henry to Hand, 3 July 1776, *Frontier Defense*, 16-17; Henry to Hand, 27 July 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 30-33.

consider, that the Enemy stands between them, & that State of Safety & Repose which I hope awaits them.”<sup>170</sup> Henry’s concern certainly reflected his additional connection to these areas as several of his sisters married backcountry leaders, including his sister Ann who was married to William Christian, and had settled in Botetourt and Fincastle counties with their families.<sup>171</sup>

After receiving Patrick Henry’s authorization to draft men for a campaign to the Ohio Country, Edward Hand wrote to William Fleming to discuss the particulars of raising men and supplies from Botetourt. He ordered Fleming to furnish 200 men from Botetourt, with officers, who would march to Fort Randolph as the place of general rendezvous with men from other counties.<sup>172</sup> Hand gave Fleming the option to raise the men as he saw fit as “you Sir will be the best Judge how to proceed In your own Country as soon as the Men are ready (which I wish to be as soon as possible).”<sup>173</sup> The men would need to bring flour and cattle along with lead supplied by Patrick Henry to Fort Randolph.<sup>174</sup> While Fleming knew the backcountry would benefit from the expedition as a victory would create a lasting peace on the frontier, he was understandably concerned that Botetourt County was already exhausted of men who might be drafted and that

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<sup>170</sup> Henry to Hand, 27 July 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 33.

<sup>171</sup> Several of Patrick Henry’s sister Elizabeth “Betsy” Henry was married to William Campbell, and Susannah Henry was married to Thomas Madison.

<sup>172</sup> Hand was also drafting men from the counties of Monongalia, Youghania, and Ohio. See Edward Hand to William Fleming, 12 August 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 42-43.

<sup>173</sup> Hand to Fleming, 12 August 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 42-43.

<sup>174</sup> Hand to Fleming, 12 August 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 42-43; Henry to Hand, 27 July 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 30-33.

winter would be approaching by the time they were able to make the necessary arrangements for the expedition.

As Edward Hand pursued men and supplies for his expedition, Matthew Arbuckle received information from the Shawnee Towns about a treaty between the Indians and the British “where all the Nations have unanimously agreed to Distress the frontiers as much as in their Power.”<sup>175</sup> The Shawnees, whom Arbuckle believed were still the Virginians’ allies, had resolved to remain neutral, but they were facing pressure to join the other tribes who had “accepted the War Belt & Tomahawk.”<sup>176</sup> Nonhelema, Cornstalk’s sister who was known to the Virginians as Katy or the “Grenadier Squaw,” reported that there was a faction who were ready to attack the garrisons at Point Pleasant and Wheeling.<sup>177</sup> In a report to Fleming, Arbuckle recounted an exact plan of attack as explained by the Grenadier Squaw.<sup>178</sup> The Indian alliance would first destroy the forts on the Ohio, “either by Storming the Garrison or Starving us out” then continue on to the frontier Inhabitants where they would “way lay some of our People a hunting Cows or Horses” and draw out enough of the men away from the fort, so that “when they get our Party a Sufficient Distance from the Garrison Their Main Body will Surround & Destroy [us], by which Scheme this Garrison is to Becom[e] an easy Prey.”<sup>179</sup> With these details from Matthew

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<sup>175</sup> Matthew Arbuckle to William Fleming, 26 July 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 25-27.

<sup>176</sup> Arbuckle to Fleming, 26 July 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 25-27.

<sup>177</sup> Colin G. Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America*, 65; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 67.

<sup>178</sup> Arbuckle to Fleming, 26 July 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 25-27.

<sup>179</sup> Arbuckle to Fleming, 26 July 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 25-27; Calendar of letters, 2-13 August 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 38-39; Otis K. Rice, *The Allegheny Frontier: West Virginia Beginnings, 1730-1830* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 94-95.

Arbuckle, a full-scale Indian War seemed inevitable and Edward Hand hurried his plans for the expedition to strike the first blow against the Indians.

While Matthew Arbuckle's report to Edward Hand spurred Hand toward action and the boldest offensive plan on the frontier since Dunmore's expedition in 1774, his success relied heavily on recruiting men from Botetourt County and other backcountry counties. In spite of what seemed like a real threat of war against the Virginians, William Fleming still struggled to find both men and supplies for the expedition and convinced Hand to allow Arbuckle's men already garrisoned at Fort Randolph to be included as part of the recruits from Botetourt.<sup>180</sup> Hand assured Fleming that recent events, likely referring to news of the treaty at Detroit and pressure on the neutral Shawnees to unite against the Virginians, necessitated an accelerated timeline, and he asked Fleming to send an express to him at Fort Pitt once the men and supplies were on their way to the rendezvous at Fort Randolph. Fleming expressed concern about Hand's plans to Patrick Henry who replied that it was "a delectate point as you observe, to march an Army ag[ains]t the western tribes; but really their offences are so flagitious, that the Measure of their Iniquity seems to be full."<sup>181</sup> Henry noted that defensive strategies alone could not

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<sup>180</sup> William Fleming questioned Hand's authorization to call out troops from Botetourt and immediately contacted Patrick Henry to ask if he had the governor's permission. Henry replied that Hand's authorization came from him as governor, but also from the vote of the Virginia Assembly who had authorized Congress and Hand to command the western garrison. Anticipating challenges to Hand's authority from County Lieutenants, Henry had forwarded letters to each county officer, but believed Fleming's must have been lost as he did not receive it. See Henry to Fleming, 7 September 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 74.

<sup>181</sup> Henry to Fleming, 7 September 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 75.

“be productive of Safety to the Inhabitants, who have suffered abominable crueltys from the Savages” for many years, and that offensive action would strike an effective blow.<sup>182</sup>

Aside from the general exhaustion and depletion of men and supplies from western Botetourt and Greenbrier, Edward Hand’s orders arrived in the midst of a period of ongoing Indian attacks in Greenbrier in mid-September 1777. Writing to William Fleming from his small neighborhood fort located along the Greenbrier River near present-day Lowell, West Virginia, shortly after the attack, John Vanbibber described the “present unhappy situation” in his neighborhood (see Figures 37-38).<sup>183</sup> Vanbibber asked Fleming to send men to defend the area in response to the “Barbarity that was this day Committed by our most inhumane & savage Enemys the Indians.”<sup>184</sup> Describing the scene, Vanbibber wrote,

About Break of day this Morning they attacked the house of James Graham which is situated within three hundred yards of the fort where they killed three and took one prisoner, and in about two hours afterwards a small Detachment of men which was going to the Assistance of some Adjacent Neighbours was again Attacked within two hundred yards of the Fort, when our Men gave them Battle & sustaind no damage only one man slightly wounded in the shoulder, what loss the Enemy sustaind is to us unknown, but we are in great hopes our men did some Execution as some of them had a tolerable good View of their Bodies, We got some few Implements belonging to them—Namely a Couple of Spears and Match Coats, Two Bows and a Case of Arrows & a scalping Knife.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Henry to Fleming, 7 September 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 75.

<sup>183</sup> John Vanbibber to William Fleming, 11 September 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 78-79; John Vanbibber is the same man who was briefly accused, though it was speedily dismissed, of an alliance with the Indians.

<sup>184</sup> Vanbibber to Fleming, 11 September 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 78-79; Others who were killed include Walter Caldwell, John Graham, and James Grimes who was described as a “Negro fellow.” Elizabeth Graham was taken prisoner, and Isaac Taylor was wounded during the attack.

<sup>185</sup> Vanbibber to Fleming, 11 September 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 78-79; Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 97.

Vanbibber requested that Fleming send assistance immediately and give him the authority to have a “small Body of men under my Command so that they may be under the Necessity of being Obedient to all Lawful Commands, and likewise that I may have the Liberty of sending out a Couple of Spies.”<sup>186</sup> Several eye-witness accounts reached William Fleming, including one from Andrew Kincaid, who had been in Graham’s house when the attack occurred, to Botetourt County justice James Henderson who was stationed nearby at Greenbrier’s Fort Henry.<sup>187</sup>

In the midst of transcribing Kincaid’s account to send on to Fleming, Henderson received word that another settler was killed that morning at the mouth of Indian Creek.<sup>188</sup> The day after the attack, John Stuart reported that a number of guns were also heard at the Muddy Creek fort and that he sent men to see what happened and offer assistance to the Muddy Creek residents “who is very few in numbers, & I am afraid will be much distress’d.”<sup>189</sup> Stationed at the large centrally located fort he constructed at Camp Union the previous year, Stuart reported “the people are in much confusion & flying to fort at Camp Union as soon as they got their women & Children someway secured shall endeavour to take a party & pursue the enemy.”<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Vanbibber to Fleming, 11 September 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 78-79.

<sup>187</sup> James Henderson to William Fleming, 12 September 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 79-80. John Stuart received an account from James Graham himself. See John Stuart to William Fleming, 12 September 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 80-82.

<sup>188</sup> Henderson to Fleming, 12 September 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 79-80; According to Thwaites and Kellogg, this Fort Henry was a local Greenbrier fort whose exact location is still unknown rather than the Fort Henry at the site of present-day Wheeling, West Virginia.

<sup>189</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 12 September 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 80-82.

<sup>190</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 12 September 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 80-82.

While settlers were eager to pursue the Indians who attacked Greenbrier, the men were even more unwilling to join Hand's expedition, which would take them away from their homes for months and leave their families vulnerable to Indian attack, after the attack Vanbibber described. Stuart had been making preparations for supplies and a guard to herd the cattle to Fort Randolph when the attacks occurred, but the alarm had scattered the men to their homes and left the cattle to wander. Between the attack and the continued preparations for Hand's expedition, Stuart struggled to know how to make the necessary arrangements, and "as our present circumstances is very alarming" he hoped Fleming would offer instruction.<sup>191</sup>

John Stuart was convinced he would be unable to find men to escort the supplies until Greenbrier received men from "the Interior parts of the settlement" to aid in their protection, but eastern Botetourt was also concerned about supplying troops for Hand's expedition.<sup>192</sup> Although initially planning to send a company of riflemen to join George Washington in Pennsylvania when he received Hand's orders, John Bowyer was able to raise two companies, totaling approximately 100 men, to march to Greenbrier to join other troops from Botetourt and Augusta before continuing on to the designated rendezvous at Fort Randolph.<sup>193</sup> Farther south in eastern Botetourt County, not far from the town of Fincastle, officers reported that there were nearly 100 men raised for the

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<sup>191</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 12 September 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 80-82.

<sup>192</sup> Stuart to Fleming, 12 September 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 80-82.

<sup>193</sup> John Bowyer to William Fleming, 4 October 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 122-124.

expedition.<sup>194</sup> Bowyer's men had packhorses ready to transport "Beef & flower sufficient to Serve them down to [Point Pleasant] also Tents and Kettles" because he had been "informed by Mr. Sampson Mathews that they had no flower at Greenbrier."<sup>195</sup> Although Stuart's store records reveal that customers were not making as many purchases at the store as they had prior to 1775, and the entries from John Stuart's daybook imply that he was running the store from Camp Union, John Bowyer's comment reveals that Sampson Mathews was still very much aware of goods going in and out of Greenbrier.

As word of the attacks on Greenbrier reached Edward Hand, he communicated with the Delawares' principal chief White Eyes, who had previously expressed his dismay at the attacks, shedding light on interactions between Native groups in the Ohio Country and the challenges of neutrality for the Shawnees and Delawares as other groups pressured them to attack the Virginians.<sup>196</sup> White Eyes stated that 210 "Warriors, Wiandots, Mingo's & other Nations" had united and "taken up the Tomhawk & struck our Brothers the Virginians" and that they said they would also strike against the Delawares "& leave the Tomhawk sticking in our heads," because they had allied themselves with the Virginians.<sup>197</sup> Hand assured White Eyes that the Virginians wanted

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<sup>194</sup> George Skillern to William Fleming, 5 October 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 124-125.

<sup>195</sup> Bowyer to Fleming, 4 October 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 122-124.

<sup>196</sup> White Eyes was one of the Delaware leaders who sought to maintain good relations with the United States. See Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 68-69.

<sup>197</sup> White Eyes to Col. Morgan, 23 September 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 100-101; According to Colin Calloway, "White Eyes and some other Delawares saw an American alliance as an opportunity to assert independence from the Six Nations and challenge their claims to lands west of the Ohio." See Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 37.



to continue the “chain of friendship” and White Eyes replied that the Delawares did not want to go to war unless provoked. White Eyes went on to say, “The Big Knife are our Neighbours and we live in friendship with them[...]They constantly speak what is good & so long as their Actions correspond we desire to believe them”<sup>198</sup> With this reassurance that the Delawares were still the Americans’ friends, Hand continued his plans for an expedition against the other western Indians who were less inclined to friendship.

While men from eastern Botetourt County prepared to march to Greenbrier, Matthew Arbuckle reiterated the benefits of rendezvousing at Fort Randolph. The Fort Randolph garrison offered a place for boats to dock on the Ohio with a guard supplied from the fort, and the boats could move men fairly quickly as they carried fifty men downstream and thirty-five upstream since “the men would require room to work.”<sup>199</sup> In addition to the convenient situation of the fort for docking and guarding the boats, Arbuckle informed Hand that he expected “to have in my custody six or eight of the Shawanese Chiefs before you arrive.”<sup>200</sup> Given the Shawnees’, specifically Cornstalk’s, friendship, this action seems unwise; however, Arbuckle explained that two Shawnees arrived at Fort Randolph with a string of white wampum and proceeded to deliver “a speech with strong protestations of friendship” then produced a black string, which they

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<sup>198</sup> White Eyes’ response in George Morgan to the Delawares, 1 October 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 115; White Eyes was murdered by the Americans in 1778. See Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 37.

<sup>199</sup> Matthew Arbuckle to Edward Hand, 6 October 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 127-128.

<sup>200</sup> Arbuckle to Hand, 6 October 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 125-128.

said had been sent to them by the Delawares, who had just reinforced their friendship to Hand.<sup>201</sup> The two Shawnees had come to the fort seeking an answer for the black string and were concerned about rumors of an army marching to their country, which was certainly a reference to Hand's planned expedition. Arbuckle detained the two men and resolved to continue "detaining & confining as many as fall into my hands" until he received instructions from Hand.<sup>202</sup> These interactions demonstrate that while the Virginians, Shawnees, and Delawares professed friendship, each group was wary of deception and easily believed others would turn on them or were capable of duplicitous behavior.

By the end of October, the difficulty of raising men from the backcountry counties forced Edward Hand to reconsider his expedition, and he was ultimately forced to abandon it. Hand expressed his disappointment to George Washington, explaining that he had gathered fewer than 800 men, with little or no participation from the counties near Fort Pitt.<sup>203</sup> Writing to Patrick Henry, Hand noted his "very great mortification" at disbanding the expedition and that his correspondence with William Fleming led him to believe Botetourt could not supply any men in time for the expedition.<sup>204</sup> With so few men, and "these badly clothed, & the cold season advancing," Hand planned to order 150

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<sup>201</sup> Arbuckle to Hand, 6 October 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 125-128; Colin Calloway notes that during the violence of the Revolution, "War chiefs rose in status as civil chiefs lost influence." See Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 6.

<sup>202</sup> Arbuckle to Hand, 6 October 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 125-128.

<sup>203</sup> Extract from a letter of Edward Hand to George Washington, 9 November 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 154.

<sup>204</sup> Edward Hand to Patrick Henry, 9 November 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 154-155.

men stationed in each frontier county through the winter months to defend and “assist the inhabitants in securing their grain and other property” rather than mounting the expedition as originally intended.<sup>205</sup>

Even as Edward Hand concluded that he would have to abandon his plans for offensive action in the Ohio Country, John Stuart reported that roughly forty men from Greenbrier who were wary of “the difficulties attendant on a state of war and long campaigns carried through wildernesses” had enlisted and were among those from Botetourt County.<sup>206</sup> To fill out the regiment, Stuart and other officers from Greenbrier offered themselves as volunteers and cast lots to decide who would command the company.<sup>207</sup> Despite the challenges of raising troops beyond what was already required of them, western Botetourt and Greenbrier settlers’ willingness to supply the expedition, although temporarily in anticipation of reimbursement, demonstrated their desire to fully participate in the common cause alongside their fellow Virginians and defend their homes.

**“A most barbarous and atrocious murder”<sup>208</sup>**

While Edward Hand conveyed his disappointment about disbanding the expedition to George Washington and Patrick Henry, men from Augusta and Botetourt

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<sup>205</sup> Hand to Henry, 9 November 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 154-155.

<sup>206</sup> Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars”.

<sup>207</sup> Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars”; Andrew Hamilton served as captain, and William Renick as lieutenant of the Greenbrier men who joined George Skillern’s Botetourt company for the trek to Fort Randolph.

<sup>208</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 3 April 1778, 1.

Counties arrived at Fort Randolph expecting to rendezvous with Hand, in yet another example of the challenges of communication over hundreds of miles of mountainous terrain. When the men arrived without word as to how they should proceed, Matthew Arbuckle rushed off a letter to Edward Hand at Fort Pitt.<sup>209</sup> Arbuckle was particularly concerned that his supplies had dwindled without being resupplied from Fort Pitt, especially with additional men at the garrison, and he expressed his fear that “some misfortune ha[d] befallen” Hand or he was “convinced he would have despatched [a boat] down with flour with the greatest expedition, knowing the condition of this garrison both with respect to flour & salt.”<sup>210</sup> The men from Augusta and Botetourt were “exstreemly good in general high sperits;” however, they had arrived at Fort Randolph with few supplies and were quickly becoming impatient as they were “Keen for the Expedision.”<sup>211</sup>

Matthew Arbuckle also reported to Hand that he had detained Cornstalk and two other Shawnees, known as Redhawk and Petalla, or Old Yie, whom he would keep confined until he received instructions, which proved to be detrimental to Virginia-Shawnee relations and fatal for his hostages.<sup>212</sup> While the Augusta and Botetourt militias waited for Edward Hand, two young men, named Hamilton and Gilmore, crossed the Kanawha River to hunt for deer and on their way back to camp, some Indians who had

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<sup>209</sup> Matthew Arbuckle to Edward Hand, 7 November 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 149-150.

<sup>210</sup> Arbuckle to Hand, 7 November 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 149-150.

<sup>211</sup> John Dickinson to Edward Hand, 7 November 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 150-151.

<sup>212</sup> Arbuckle to Hand, 7 November 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 149-150.

hidden on the bank fired on Gilmore and killed him.<sup>213</sup> According to Stuart, he and Arbuckle were standing near the fort when shots were fired and “whilst we were wondering who it could be shooting, contrary to orders, or what they were doing over the river,” saw Hamilton run down the river bank crying out that Gilmore had been killed.<sup>214</sup>

The implications of Gilmore’s death for the Botetourt County men, and the residual anger over the evolution of Cornstalk’s relationship with the Virginians provide a glimpse of backcountry attitudes and insights into the mens’ immediate and violent response.<sup>215</sup> Robert Gilmore traveled to Fort Randolph from present-day Rockbridge County with his relative Captain James Hall.<sup>216</sup> A number of Hall and Gilmore’s family members had been killed by the Shawnees, led by Cornstalk, during the violent attacks in 1763 that wiped out the Clendenin, Sea, and Yocum families in Greenbrier at Muddy Creek and other neighborhoods throughout the region. Most likely there was some lingering hostility toward the Shawnee chief who had become friendly with backcountry

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<sup>213</sup> Letters written after the event reveal that the Indians who killed Gilmore were Mingo or Wyandots and not Shawnees, though the actions taken by the Botetourt and Augusta men demonstrate that the settlers were willing to lump all Native peoples into one group. See William Preston and William Fleming to the Shawnee, 3 April 1778, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 258-261; While hunting on the north side of the Ohio River was prohibited according to the treaty established with the Ohio Indians in 1775, the Kanawha River was not included as a boundary. “Captain Nevills Instructions,” *Revolutionary Virginia*, vol. IV, 201-202.

<sup>214</sup> Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars”.

<sup>215</sup> None of the first-hand accounts and letters describing Cornstalk’s murder reference John Stuart being at Fort Randolph; however, Stuart states that he was there in his memoir. Stuart’s account matches others written at the time, and he was certainly privy to the information surrounding Edward Hand’s planned expedition and Cornstalk’s murder even if he was not present. Historian Albert Tillson analyzes Stuart’s *Memoirs* and does not question Stuart’s statement that he was at Fort Randolph. Other evidence supporting Stuart being at Fort Randolph can be gleaned from his Greenbrier store daybook, which does not have any entries between October 13 and December 6. Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars”; Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk*, 141; Mathews Daybook, 1771-1781.

<sup>216</sup> Stuart lists “John” Hall in error, but other county records say James Hall.

leaders as he encouraged neutrality. Stuart reported that Hall and men at the fort jumped into a canoe and rushed to Hamilton who was standing on the bank “in momentary expectation of being put to death.”<sup>217</sup> The men brought Gilmore’s body down the bank “covered with blood and scalped” and across the river in a canoe and they had scarcely reached the bank when some of the men cried out to kill the Indians in the fort.<sup>218</sup> Mathew Arbuckle met the men outside the fort and tried to discourage them from assaulting his captives, but he was unable to stop the mob. The agitated men rushed into the fort and murdered Cornstalk and the other Shawnee captives.<sup>219</sup>

In the days and weeks that followed, news of Cornstalk’s murder spread throughout the Virginia backcountry and leaders were wary of the retaliation to come as Cornstalk was one of the few Shawnee leaders who continued to advocate neutrality.<sup>220</sup> George Skillern and surgeon Samuel Smyth took a deposition from the men who witnessed the murder. The witnesses swore,

That they were present when Rob[ert] Gilmore was brought over the Kanhawa River killed & scalped; on which a [number] of armed men appeared to be coming into the garrison in a riotous manner, on which said deponents suspected that they were determined to kill the Indians in custody in said garrison; & further say, that Capt. Mathew Arbuckle told them, that they should not be killed, as they were his prisoners, & it appeared to them that it was not in his power to stop their supposed intentiones. And further say, that they proceeded into the garrison, & a

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<sup>217</sup> Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars”.

<sup>218</sup> Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars”.

<sup>219</sup> Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars”; Edward Hand to Patrick Henry, 9 December 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 175-177.

<sup>220</sup> Colin Calloway notes the backcountry settlers’ “peculiar penchant for murdering key friends at key moments.” See Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 39; Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 75-76.

number of guns was shortly fired, on which the Indians were all killed, being four in number, as they afterwards understood--& further saith not.<sup>221</sup>

A few weeks later, William Preston reported to William Fleming that the men were on their way home from Fort Randolph “after killing the Cornstalk and some other Shawnesse Chiefs in cold Blood,” and he was apprehensive that their actions would be “followed by very bad consequences to the Frontiers, by engaging us in a war with that Revengful & Warlike Nation and their Allies.”<sup>222</sup>

Having suspended the expedition, Edward Hand was en route to Fort Randolph to make preparations for the winter when he received a letter from Matthew Arbuckle along with a copy of the deposition on Cornstalk’s murder. Hand was especially concerned by the murders as “the Cornstalk appeared to be the most active of his nation to promote peace” and that “if we had anything to expect from the Nation it is now Vanished” with little hope of reconciliation.<sup>223</sup> In the aftermath of Cornstalk’s murder, and as winter approached, Hand noted that there were fewer than 100 men currently stationed at Fort Randolph and ordered men from other counties to supplement the Point Pleasant garrison.<sup>224</sup> Showing his weariness, Edward Hand, who served in the Continental Army with George Washington before becoming commander at Fort Pitt, requested that he be

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<sup>221</sup> Deposition on the Murder, 10 November 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 162-163.

<sup>222</sup> William Preston to William Fleming, 2 December 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 169.

<sup>223</sup> Hand to Henry, 9 December 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 175-177; Edward Hand to Jasper Yeates, 24 December 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 188.

<sup>224</sup> Hand to Henry, 9 December 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 175-177.

recalled to the main army and “with them to share the honors & fatigues of the field” as he “had rather resign my office than continue here in command of militia.”<sup>225</sup> In preparation for the expedition, Hand had spent months negotiating the militia chain of command with county lieutenants like William Fleming and now the very militiamen he sought out had shown complete disregard for the rules of engagement and murdered the Americans’ primary Indian ally in cold-blooded revenge.

In the aftermath of Cornstalk’s murder at the end of 1777, the garrison at Fort Randolph continued to guard against retaliatory attacks by the Shawnees and faced the challenge of maintaining a frontier garrison as Matthew Arbuckle and many of his men left on furlough for the winter. Describing some of these small-scale attacks, William McKee, who was in command of Fort Randolph in Arbuckle’s absence, described an account of two men who were killed when “a Reconoitring party fell into an ambuscade of about 20 Indians within about 100 yds of the turnip field” near the fort.<sup>226</sup> A week later, an Indian “came to the other side the Ohio Just as it got Dark Fired his Gun and Calld over that He was [George] Morgan,” who was the Indian agent at Fort Pitt, and asked to be brought to the fort.<sup>227</sup> McKee sent the Grenadier Squaw and her daughter Fawney to the man, but when he heard who was coming over to him, he told them not to come till morning and they supposed he wanted a scalp as they had heard “nothing of the

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<sup>225</sup> Hand to the Secretary of War, 25 December 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 191.

<sup>226</sup> William McKee to Edward Hand, 31 December 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 196.

<sup>227</sup> McKee to Hand, 31 December 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 196.



Gentleman since.”<sup>228</sup> William McKee was also distressed by conditions inside the fort as smallpox and measles spread through the garrison and more than twenty men were ill, which meant only sixty-five men were fit for duty under his command.<sup>229</sup>

Virginians dealt with the consequences of Cornstalk’s murder well into 1778 as they tried to appease the Shawnees who sought retaliation for the death of their leader. In the spring of 1778, Patrick Henry issued a proclamation in the *Virginia Gazette* that reiterated Cornstalk’s innocence, the cold-blooded nature of the murder, and Virginians’ contempt for the murderers in an attempt to maintain the Shawnees’ neutrality.<sup>230</sup> Henry named the offenders, asked that they be brought to justice and punishment, and offered rewards for their capture. He described the murder as a “barbarous and atrocious” event that deeply wounded the “honour and faith of this country” as the state’s laws had been violated and “the vengeance of a cruel enemy provoked on the innocent inhabitants of the western frontiers as well as a dangerous example given to licentious and bloodthirsty men wantonly to involve their country in the horrors of a savage war.”<sup>231</sup> Of the five men cited by Henry, one man, Adam Barnes, was from Greenbrier while the other men were from Augusta County and the newly formed Rockbridge, which was created out of portions of Augusta and eastern Botetourt County.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> McKee to Hand, 31 December 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 196.

<sup>229</sup> McKee to Hand, 31 December 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 196.

<sup>230</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 3 April 1778, 1; The Proclamation was dated 27 March, 1778, but was not published until the following week.

<sup>231</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 3 April 1778, 1.

<sup>232</sup> The men named in Cornstalk’s murder were James Hall, William Roane, and Hugh Galbreath of Rockbridge, Malcolm McCown of Augusta, and Adam Barnes of Greenbrier. Henry offered rewards of 200 dollars for Hall, 150 for McCown, and 100 each for Galbreath, Roane, and Barnes. See *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 3 April 1778, 1.

At the end of 1777, Americans rejoiced in the Continental Army's victory at Saratoga, which was "glorious, and Interesting to every Friend to the American Cause," and western Botetourt and Greenbrier settlers, who anticipated the formation of Greenbrier County early in 1778, braced for the repercussions from Cornstalk's murder.<sup>233</sup> The early 1770s were a period of transition for western Botetourt and Greenbrier settlers as the region shifted from a sparsely settled frontier area to a center of military activity in Lord Dunmore's War and a distinct place seeking a voice within county affairs during the first years of the Revolution.

While western Botetourt and Greenbrier settlers supported the patriot cause and declared themselves ready "to contribute to the Common Cause with the rest of [our] Countrymen," they placed more immediate local concerns for their home region, which was a territory spanning all of present-day West Virginia, ahead of the needs, requests, and orders for the Continental Army or Virginia's leaders.<sup>234</sup> The early years of the Revolution were also a period of change for John Stuart's store since it no longer served as a place for social gatherings within the Greenbrier community and instead seemed to primarily supply the militia stationed at Camp Union because settlers spent much of their time "forted up" in anticipation of Indian attacks.

The events that transpired from 1775 to 1777 further cemented Greenbrier settlers' attachment to place and encouraged the community's cohesion as settlers were

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<sup>233</sup> Preston to Fleming, 2 December 1777, *Frontier Defense*, 168-170.

<sup>234</sup> 12 June 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VII, pt 2, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 447; Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk*, 86-89.

more determined than ever to maintain their homes and land in the face of threats from Native Americans, the British, or other Virginians. Though “Greenbrier” initially referred only to the Greenbrier Valley, settlers from both Greenbrier and western Botetourt increasingly felt their distinct from eastern Botetourt County and petitioned for the formation of a new county in 1777. Their desire to have a legal identity that was separate from eastern Botetourt matched their community identity. The new county was named Greenbrier. This new county would encompass everything in Botetourt County located west of the Appalachian Mountains – nearly three-fourths of Botetourt’s territory and spanning present-day West Virginia – and it gave settlers greater access to a local government and, therefore, the legal means required to support their homes and community through the years of the American Revolution.

## CHAPTER VI

### AN “INFANT COUNTY,” 1778-1782<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of 1778, western Botetourt and Greenbrier settlers looked both to the past and future as they anticipated retaliatory attacks from the Shawnees for Cornstalk’s murder and experienced changes in their community with the official creation of Greenbrier County.<sup>2</sup> The period from 1775 through 1777 was a time of transition as western Botetourt and Greenbrier evolved from a sparsely settled frontier area in Botetourt County that had recently proven itself during Lord Dunmore’s War, to a place with inhabitants declaring their “readiness to contribute to the Common Cause with the rest of their Countrymen” even as concern for the defense of their community, region, and now county, often superseded the “common cause.”<sup>3</sup>

The role of the Greenbrier store in the community changed significantly from 1775 through 1777, and there was a further decrease in John Stuart’s business in the records from 1778 through the mid-1780s. In spite of a brief increase in transactions in 1776 and 1777, when it appears that John Stuart managed the store from his garrison at Camp Union, the Greenbrier store records reveal a sharp decline beginning in 1778 with

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<sup>1</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 20 November 1781, Legislative Petitions Digital Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA. Hereafter, collection cited as LPDC, LVA.

<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of Greenbrier in Botetourt County petitioned the General Assembly in November 1777 and the petition was “ordered to lie on the table” and referred to the next session meeting in January 1778. See Greenbrier County Petition, 5 November 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>3</sup> 12 June 1776, in *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. VII, pt 2, eds. Brent Tarter and Robert L. Scribner (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 447.

fewer sales and more entries to settle accounts rather than make purchases.<sup>4</sup> The items Stuart sold continued to follow the trends of the first years of the Revolution, with entries for necessities rather than luxuries; however, instead of purchasing items, the most noticeable transactions were for services like weaving, filing an ax, reaping, boarding a packhorseman, or for purchasing cattle. As in the early period of the Revolution, the decline in sales and changes in the variety of goods and the increase of services is likely representative of several developments in the Greenbrier Valley including the presence of other merchants, the community's shifting needs, John Stuart's involvement with regional defense, and the challenge of acquiring and supplying goods to the region in wartime. The changes may also be due to new roles and business ventures for Sampson and George Mathews during the Revolution and their inability to maintain their commercial networks or transport goods to Greenbrier. No surviving records explicitly describe this change, but during this time their attention was directed elsewhere and other concerns took precedence.

From the creation of Greenbrier County in 1778 to the end of the American Revolution in 1783, settlers continued to demonstrate their connection to place as they prioritized defense of hearth and home above any other objectives. Greenbrier's inhabitants protected and preserved their lands through physical and legal means and fully embraced their identity as citizens of Greenbrier County, a territory spanning

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<sup>4</sup> There were approximately 186 customers at the store in 1774, 89 in 1775, 150 in 1776, 130 in 1777, 48 in 1778, 33 in 1779, 10 in 1780, 4 in 1781, and 4 in 1782. See Mathews Trading Post Ledger, 1771-1784, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Sampson and George Mathews Greenbrier Store Daybook (copy), 1771-1773, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Sampson and George Mathews Greenbrier Store Daybook, 1771-1781, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

present-day West Virginia.<sup>5</sup> With the formation of Greenbrier County, the inhabitants had easier access to local governance and were able to address the concerns of daily life at the county court, and because of the county's geography, even those who were in the Kanawha Valley near present-day Charleston were better able to participate. Although creating local government and strengthening the community by establishing the new county did not make the region less dangerous; shortly after the county's founding in 1778, the settlers faced intense and widespread Indian attacks on the region. In addition, they were also called out for yet another campaign to Detroit by the commander at Fort Pitt that same year, and they constantly juggled the need for protection at home with the demands placed on them to support the Revolution elsewhere. Despite these challenges, Greenbrier County residents remained steadfast in their commitment to the area both physically and politically as the place they called home.

### **Establishing Greenbrier County**

In the fall of 1777, Greenbrier settlers petitioned for the formation of a new county that would finally provide them the local governance and legal representation they desired to validate their landholdings. The petition included more than seventy signatures from settlers in the Greenbrier Valley, beginning with a man who would become Greenbrier's most prominent citizen, John Stuart. The petition directly addressed settlers' concerns that they were unable to access the county court to rectify

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<sup>5</sup> Warren Hofstra noted the role of the county government in "exercising dominion" in Virginia. See Warren Hofstra, "'The Extention of His Majesties Dominions': The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers," *Journal of American History* 84, no. 4 (March 1998) 1285-1286.

legal matters and to preserve their homes and communities as they stated, “Your Petitioners have for many years inhabited this remote part of the country, without ever having it in our power to procure any better title to our lands, than the natural right, by which means many unfortunate disputes hath happened.”<sup>6</sup>

Greenbrier settlers noted that they had proven themselves as defenders of Virginia’s backcountry as they had “long served as a berrier on the Frontiers of this colony against the savages, by who’s cruelty many have lossed their lives, and much of our property has been taken from us,” and they asked the Virginia Assembly to rectify the sacrifices of these backcountry settlers by ensuring that “the offspring of those who hath been slain by their natural enemys, as well as those call’d off by the hand of Providence, may be put in possession of that which is now unjustly held from them by mercenary strangers, which should be their Heritage, which misfortunes hath derived from their fathers want of opportunity of securing a sufficient Title.”<sup>7</sup> Although emphasizing the loss of life from Indian attack, the Greenbrier settlers’ reference to “mercenary strangers” revealed the issue of land companies and their agents who manipulated the process settlers used to legally claim their lands and acquire land titles.

Addressing their distance from the Botetourt County courthouse and the challenges it posed for them to conduct business, the petitioners for the new county stated that many of them were more than fifty miles from the courthouse and “separated by a large chain of mountains, through which we have to pass with the greatest deficulty, to

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<sup>6</sup> Greenbrier County Petition, 5 November 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>7</sup> Greenbrier County Petition, 5 November 1777, LPDC, LVA.

get our business done.”<sup>8</sup> The petitioners also noted their growing population, asking that they “be struck off in a new county, as we are a body sufficient and dayly increasing.”<sup>9</sup> The petitioners suggested boundaries for the new county, which would extend “from the head of the greenbrier River in augusta county to the sweet springs in Botetourt county, by the Turns of the west from the east waters, and from the sweet-springs to the line of Montgomery county by the mountain by the name of Peter’s mountain,” thus encompassing nearly 10,000 square miles and taking in a territory that included the width of present-day West Virginia (see Figure 42).<sup>10</sup> The petition was signed and submitted to the Virginia Assembly where it was referred to the committee on propositions and tabled until the winter session and dated for implementation on March 1, 1778.<sup>11</sup>

Seventy-four men signed the Greenbrier County petition – all from the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>12</sup> Of the many names, only a few of the men had been prominent in Botetourt County court business, which reiterates the Greenbrier settlers’ sense that they were underrepresented within the larger Botetourt County spanning the Appalachian Mountains. Settlers from western Botetourt were not among the signers; however, the

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<sup>8</sup> Greenbrier County Petition, 5 November 1777, LPDC, LVA; The “large chain of mountains” referred to the mountain ridge along the present-day Virginia-West Virginia border, including Peters Mountain, which is a fifty-two-mile mountain in the Allegheny Ridge and runs the length of the southern Greenbrier Valley.

<sup>9</sup> Greenbrier County Petition, 5 November 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>10</sup> Greenbrier County Petition, 5 November 1777, LPDC, LVA; This area is roughly from Durbin, WV to Sweet Springs, WV, to Peterstown, WV, and then turned west to the Ohio River and beyond. Peter’s Mountain is 52 miles long and is the longest mountain in the Appalachian chain. The length of Peter’s Mountain ran along the eastern side of the Greenbrier Valley and made travel to Fincastle, the previous county seat of Botetourt County, particularly difficult.

<sup>11</sup> The petition was dated 5 November 1777 and referred to the committee on propositions on 19 November. It was “ordered to lie on the table” until the March session of the Assembly and was enacted on March 1, 1778. See Greenbrier County Petition, 5 November 1777, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>12</sup> The petition was dated 5 November 1777 and referred to the committee on propositions on 19 November. It was “ordered to like on the table” until the March session of the Assembly and was enacted on March 1. See Greenbrier County Petition, 5 November 1777, LPDC, LVA.



petitioners lived throughout the Greenbrier Valley with the greatest number of signatures from central locations in the Great Levels. Some signatures were from men living in the southern portions of the valley nearly forty miles away.<sup>13</sup>

As the Botetourt County justices met in the new year, they made preparations for Greenbrier County's founding, which would divide their justices as well as their territory. The Botetourt County court recommended a number of men living in Greenbrier "to his Excellency the Governor as proper persons to serve as justices of the Peace for the County of Greenbrier."<sup>14</sup> The recommendations included James Henderson and Andrew Donnally, who had formerly served as justices for Botetourt County, as well as John Stuart, Samuel Lewis, Samuel Brown, George Poage, William Hamilton "of Muddy Creek," William Ward and Michael Woods.<sup>15</sup> A few weeks later Botetourt's court also appointed the county militia officers for Greenbrier, with John Stuart, who had led Greenbrier companies of militia as part of Botetourt County, recommended to the governor "as a fit person to execute the office of County Lieutenant."<sup>16</sup> Other officers included Samuel Lewis as Colonel, James Henderson as Lieutenant Colonel, and Andrew

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<sup>13</sup> Using tithable records and survey records from the Greenbrier Valley, it is possible to identify the locations of many of the signers. There were approximately a dozen individuals from Spring Creek and Sinking Creek on the Great Levels, while a handful were from the Little Levels, Anthony Creek, Muddy Creek, Indian Creek, and many others were from a larger area that cannot be identified more specifically than south of Muddy Creek. See Botetourt County (Va.) Tithables, 1770-1790, Botetourt County Reel 149, Local Government Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA; Greenbrier County Survey Book 1, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>14</sup> 12 February 1778, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 266; The Justices recommended a "William Hamilton of Sweet Springs" to the Botetourt Justices.

<sup>15</sup> 12 February 1778, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 266; There was also a William Hamilton of Sweet Springs who served as a Botetourt County justice.

<sup>16</sup> 11 March 1778, Minutes of the County Court, in *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, ed. Lewis Preston Summers (Abingdon, VA: Lewis Preston Summers, 1929), 269.

Donnally as Major. The creation of Greenbrier County expanded the region's elites and office holders as the number of justices was multiplied to supply two counties, and men who had not filled prominent roles in Botetourt suddenly had power and influence as Greenbrier County's gentlemen justices.

On March 1, 1778, according to the General Assembly's orders, portions of Augusta and Botetourt were allocated to create "one distinct county and parish" that was to be known "by the name of Green Brier."<sup>17</sup> The county boundaries were slightly different than those that the settlers requested, as the northern boundary did not begin at the head of the Greenbrier River, but farther south near the boundary line between Augusta and Botetourt County. The Assembly also enacted a series of necessary items for the county governance, including establishing a schedule for the court to meet on the third Tuesday each month at John Stuart's home, until a courthouse could be constructed.<sup>18</sup> The governor would appoint a sheriff who would collect taxes, and elect a vestry of "twelve able and discreet persons" who would administer the affairs of the church and relief for the poor.<sup>19</sup> The Assembly gave the sheriffs of Augusta and Botetourt power to collect any money that the inhabitants of Greenbrier still owed their previous counties of residence and the clerks of those counties were to submit a list of any suits or petitions from Greenbrier residents to the clerk of the new county.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> William Waller Hening, ed. *Statutes at Large; being a collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the year 1619*, vol. IX (Richmond: J. & G. Cochran, 1821), 421.

<sup>18</sup> Hening, ed. *Statutes at Large*, vol. IX, 421; James E. Talbert, *Historic Lewisburg's Sixty-four Original Lots, 1782-2001* (Lewisburg, WV: Greenbrier Historical Society, 2001), 31.

<sup>19</sup> Hening, ed. *Statutes at Large*, vol. IX, 421.

<sup>20</sup> Hening, ed. *Statutes at Large*, vol. IX, 423.

Despite the thorough plans laid out by the Assembly and the Botetourt County court to encourage an easy transition for Greenbrier County within Virginia's governing structure, a major oversight was a directive for orderly and accurate record keeping for Greenbrier's first county clerk, John Archer. Archer neglected to keep records during his tenure as county clerk, so the period from 1778 to his resignation in 1780 is absent from the Greenbrier County record books and must be pieced together from scattered original documents kept by Greenbrier citizens that have made their way to the county's historical society and archive. For example, while the names of the Greenbrier County justices appointed in 1778 are known from the Botetourt County records, the names of Greenbrier's justices appointed in 1779 were not written in any county record books. Those names would have been lost, but for an extant original document appointing the justices, which was signed by Thomas Jefferson as the Governor of Virginia, that was discovered among other miscellaneous county papers buried in a storage closet at the Greenbrier County courthouse in the twentieth century.<sup>21</sup> In 1780, the first court minutes were recorded and one of the early entries was John Archer's resignation as clerk and the appointment of John Stuart to the position.<sup>22</sup>

The creation of Greenbrier County required implementing new leadership and governing structures across western Botetourt and the Greenbrier Valley, but it also

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<sup>21</sup> The document lists the names of Archer Mathews, William Renix, John Anderson, John Henderson, William Hutcheson, Samuel Glass, and William Poage as justices of Greenbrier County, and further appoints them as "Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer for the Trial of Slaves in the said County[...]for the Purpose of trying, condemning, and executing, or otherwise punishing or acquitting any Slave committing a capital Crime within the said County." See "Appointment-JP-1779," Justices of the Peace, Container 1, Folder 37, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>22</sup> County Court Order Book, 1780-1786, Greenbrier County Courthouse, Lewisburg, WV.

disrupted the governing structure of Augusta and Botetourt County as portions of those counties and leadership become part of Greenbrier. Settlers who petitioned for the establishment of Greenbrier County acquired much-needed access to local government to address legal claims to their lands, but the new county could not protect them from the Indian attacks that plagued the region – especially those brought on by the Virginians’ actions against the Shawnees. Throughout 1778, settlers braced for an attack by Shawnees seeking retribution for the murder of their principal headman, Cornstalk, by a group of Virginia militiamen the previous fall.

### **Responding to Cornstalk’s Murder**

In the aftermath of Cornstalk’s murder at Point Pleasant in the fall of 1777, Virginia’s leaders discussed the murder with dismay, both publicly and privately, as they were appalled by the cold-blooded actions of the militiamen as well as their thoughtlessness in considering the impact of their actions on the entire backcountry. In January 1778, William Preston wrote to Governor Patrick Henry about the “late barbarous, inhuman and impolitic Murder committed at the Point on the Cornstalk and his Party, by a Number of rash inconsiderate Villains” and his belief that the murder would be followed “by the most direful Consequences to this long extended Frontier.”<sup>23</sup> Though Preston harshly criticized the Virginia militiamen’s actions, he also spoke derogatively of the Shawnees whom he described as “a warlike blood thirsty, and

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<sup>23</sup> William Preston to Governor Patrick Henry, 16 January 1778, Auditor of Public Accounts. Defense of Southwestern Virginia, Col. William Preston Papers, 1774-1783. APA 223. Miscellaneous reel 655, Richmond, VA, Library of Virginia. Hereafter, collection cited as APA 223, LVA

vengeful Nation of Savages,” which would unite with the Virginians’ Native American and British enemies at Detroit and the Great Lakes to “form a general Confederacy with all the Indians beyond the Ohio, and when the Season admits make one desperate attack upon all the Frontier Inhabitants from Pittsburg to the lower settlements of Clinch and the Kentucky.”<sup>24</sup> Perhaps the most frightening element of an attack was the expectation that it would be widespread and settlers would be unwilling or unable to leave their homes to reinforce or assist in the protection of other backcountry communities.

In William Preston’s home county of Montgomery and his neighborhood in present-day Blacksburg, Virginia, which was less than thirty miles east of the Greenbrier Valley on the New River, the settlers were “in the greatest consternation.”<sup>25</sup> Echoing sentiments also present in Greenbrier, Preston noted that the area was fairly isolated and the settlers “Being generally in low Circumstances” were not able to move their families out of danger, but “by continuing at their Homes, without the assistance of Government, or the immediate Interposition of Providence, they & their helpless Families must fall as Sacrafice to savage Fury & Revenges.”<sup>26</sup> For this reason, Preston asked, “at the Request of Many, and on the behalf of thousands thus exposed, amongst whom is my own Family,” the governor and council to “adopt some speedy measures for the Protection of the Frontier Inhabitants.”<sup>27</sup> Part of the reason for the dismal state of the frontier inhabitants was the lack of provisions, which was connected to the scarcity of salt that

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<sup>24</sup> Preston to Henry, 16 January 1778, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>25</sup> Preston to Henry, 16 January 1778, APA 223, LVA; William Preston’s home “Smithfield” is on the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech) in Blacksburg, Virginia.

<sup>26</sup> Preston to Henry, 16 January 1778, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>27</sup> Preston to Henry, 16 January 1778, APA 223, LVA.

prevented settlers from slaughtering their hogs and preserving the meat. As a result of this shortage, Preston noted that there were a number of hogs available for purchase on the frontier though there was a scarcity of corn and wheat.<sup>28</sup> In addition to the immediate needs of the settlers, Preston also reported that “The want of seed is a most discouraging circumstance to the inhabitants in this time of danger” as seed represented their ability to plant crops in the spring and subsist another year in the backcountry if they survived the looming Indian assault.<sup>29</sup>

In anticipation of the inevitable attack, in mid-February Patrick Henry told William Fleming, who was still serving as County Lieutenant of Botetourt County, to “have every Gun [in] your county put into good order & got ready for Action” and to ensure that stockades and forts were constructed throughout the area “to receive the more helpless part of the People.”<sup>30</sup> The forts were to be built in any neighborhoods “where the Enemy can possibly penetrate” at the expense of the people and were not meant to be garrisoned, but rather offer a place for the settlers to retreat during an attack.<sup>31</sup> Henry also sought to reinforce Fort Randolph, Matthew Arbuckle’s garrison at Point Pleasant, and proposed establishing an outpost between the fort and Greenbrier, near the mouth of the Elk River, to preserve communication and “check the Inroads of the Savages if the Garrison was alert and diligent to intercept their Parties” (see Figure 35)<sup>32</sup> Given that

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<sup>28</sup> Preston to Henry, 16 January 1778, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>29</sup> Preston to Henry, 16 January 1778, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>30</sup> Patrick Henry to William Fleming, 19 February 1778, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 209.

<sup>31</sup> Henry to Fleming, 19 February 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 209.

<sup>32</sup> Henry to Fleming, 19 February 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 205-206.

Greenbrier's formation as a new county was just a couple weeks away, Henry was uncertain how to secure officers from the area and asked William Fleming for a recommendation from the Botetourt County court on how to proceed with Greenbrier as "That Place will be attacked tis likely," and he needed to fill the roles to be prepared for what was to come.<sup>33</sup>

After laying out various measures for defense, Patrick Henry addressed the challenges created by Cornstalk's murder as it drew resources away from defeating the British and had the potential of generating a two-front war for the Americans. With strong language, Henry addressed what he saw as backcountry settlers' disregard for the rule of law and unsuccessful attempts to bring the murderers to justice, admonishing William Fleming that the settlers could lose the colony's support for their defense and livelihood if they were unwilling to submit to its laws. Henry wrote,

I really blush for the occasion of this War with the Shawanese. I doubt not but you detest the vile assassins who have brought it on us at this critical Time when our whole Force was wanted in another Quarter. But why are they not brought to Justice? Shall this Precedent establish the Right of involving Virginia in War whenever any one in the back Country shall please? I need not argue to shew you Sir the fatal tendency of such Conduct. you see it & I fear your County will feel indiscriminately that Misery which ought to visit only the guilty Authors of the Mischief. Some say the People of your Country will not suffer the Apprehension of the Murderers. I desire it may be remembered, that if the frontier people will not submit to the Laws, but thus set them at Defiance, they will not be considered as entitled to the protection of Government, and were it not for the miserable Condition of many with you, I should demand the Offenders previous to every other Step. For where is this wretched Business to end?<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Henry to Fleming, 19 February 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 209; Henry was also uncertain about Rockbridge which was in a similar transitional situation.

<sup>34</sup> Henry to Fleming, 19 February 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 208.

Henry went on to hypothesize that anyone who would put the backcountry settlements at risk by enacting so heinous a crime must be a Tory as “No Man but an Enemy to American Independence will do it, and thus oblige our People to be hunting after Indians in the Woods, instead of facing Genl Howe in the field.”<sup>35</sup> Henry asked Fleming to do all he could to bring the murderers to justice as he suspected they were traitors and “Agents for the Enemy, who have taken this method to find employment for the brave back Woodsmen at home and prevent their joining Genl Washington to strike a decisive stroke for Independency at this critical time.”<sup>36</sup> Henry’s statements are a stark reminder of the interconnectedness of backcountry affairs and the Patriot cause, and American concerns that they would be forced to face the British on multiple fronts through an Indian alliance. In a final charge to Fleming, Henry urged him to prepare the backcountry settlers to defend themselves against the Indians and “vindicate their Honor from the rude attack now made on it” by the murderers’ actions.<sup>37</sup> Through this defense they would demonstrate “to the World” that they possessed “the other virtues which usually accompany Courage” rather than the cowardice attributed to the men who murdered Cornstalk.<sup>38</sup>

In response to Patrick Henry’s plans for defense on the frontier, William Preston, who was County Lieutenant of Montgomery County, and William Fleming, who was County Lieutenant of Botetourt County, made recommendations for the post between

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<sup>35</sup> Henry to Fleming, 19 February 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 208.

<sup>36</sup> Henry to Fleming, 19 February 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 207-208.

<sup>37</sup> Henry to Fleming, 19 February 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 208.

<sup>38</sup> Henry to Fleming, 19 February 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 208.



Greenbrier and Point Pleasant that would preserve communication and reinforcements for Fort Randolph. Preston and Fleming suggested “Kellys abt 22 Miles above the Mouth of Elk, as a proper place for checking the Inroads of the Indians as well as inspiring the frontier Settlers with Confidence and affording them protection without which we are afraid the Inhabitants will abandon that Settlement.”<sup>39</sup> “Kellys” referred to a location within the newly formed Greenbrier County that was formerly the home site of Walter Kelly, who was killed by Indians in 1774 a few months prior to the battle at Point Pleasant (see Figure 36). Kelly’s family had retreated to Muddy Creek in the Greenbrier Valley prior to the attack. There is no evidence to suggest that his wife or children ever returned to that site, though it continued to be referred to as “Kellys.”<sup>40</sup>

Preston and Fleming proposed that the garrison at Kelly’s be supplied with fifty men from Greenbrier and fifty from Botetourt.<sup>41</sup> To reinforce Fort Randolph, Preston and Fleming recommended sending fifty men from Rockbridge County “as it is an interior County not so immediately subjected to the Incursions of the Enemy,” as were counties like Greenbrier.<sup>42</sup> Preston and Fleming considered the exposed nature of both Greenbrier and Montgomery counties, “which has a Frontier of upwards of eighty Miles,

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<sup>39</sup> William Preston and William Fleming to Patrick Henry, 14 March 1778, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 223-225.

<sup>40</sup> Otis K. Rice, *The Allegheny Frontier: West Virginia Beginnings, 1730-1830* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 69; John Stuart, “Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars and other occurrences, 1749-1780.” Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA; Major James Robertson to Colonel William Preston, 1 Aug. 1774, Draper Mss., 3QQ69, Microfilm, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Hereafter, collection referred to as Microfilm, SHSW; The area is referred to as “Kelly Bottom” along the Great Kanawha and “Kellys Creek” near the Elk River. In the 1780s, Sampson Mathews owned the property identified as “Walter Kellys improvement.” See Greenbrier County Survey Book 1, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>41</sup> Preston and Fleming to Henry, 14 March 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 223-225.

<sup>42</sup> Preston and Fleming to Henry, 14 March 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 223-225.

greatly exposed to the Enemy & but thinly inhabited.”<sup>43</sup> The recommendation to supply the westernmost forts with militiamen from the western counties and supply the western counties with men from the interior was an oft-repeated pattern, which provided substantial defense and was within close proximity, so that the distance could be traveled relatively quickly while it also kept the men somewhat closer to their homes and families.

William Preston and William Fleming also responded to Patrick Henry’s statement about Cornstalk’s murderers and its impact on backcountry settlers with the explanation that they had taken depositions and it appeared that Cornstalk’s murderers lived in Augusta, Rockbridge, and Greenbrier counties. To bring the men to justice and reassure the Shawnees that the Virginians despised the men’s actions, Preston and Fleming asked that a copy of Henry’s “Proclamation for Apprehending the Guilty & bringing them to justice” should be included with their own letters to the Shawnees as “it may tend to Convince them the Murder is had in abhorences by the Government” and legitimize their letter.<sup>44</sup> When Patrick Henry issued his proclamation condemning Cornstalk’s murder, he sent copies of the statement to Preston and Fleming for them to distribute to the Indians “with whom I ardently wish a Treaty,” as well as the appropriate counties.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Preston and Fleming to Henry, 14 March 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 223-225; Montgomery County was formed in 1776 out of a portion of Fincastle County. Montgomery County roughly equaled Greenbrier County in terms of its boundaries and situation on the western edge of settlement. The western boundary of Montgomery County was along the Ohio River and the county encompassed all of present-day West-Virginia roughly south of the New River.

<sup>44</sup> Preston and Fleming to Henry, 14 March 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 223-225.

<sup>45</sup> Patrick Henry to William Preston and William Fleming, 27 March 1778, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 240-241.

Acting on Patrick Henry's request, William Fleming drafted a letter, signed by himself and William Preston, to the Shawnees in early April to offer their carefully worded condolences for Cornstalk's murder.<sup>46</sup> Preston and Fleming wrote, "It is with the deepest Concern and sincerest Sorrow that we reflect on the Murder committed by some of Our rash young People, on the Corn Stalk and three Others of your Nation. Yet this Accident we hope will not lessen the Great Council Fire, before which your Father and Ours, and Yourselves and we, have sat and smoaked the Pipe of Peace."<sup>47</sup> Casting blame on the "young men," who were a favorite scapegoat of both the Indians and Virginians for various incidents throughout the American Revolution, Preston and Fleming rationalized an officer from Fort Randolph was killed by an Indian in sight of the Fort, and that "our hot headed young Men" were "prompted to commit the horrid Murder" believing it was done by the Shawnees.<sup>48</sup> They went on to reassure the Shawnees that Governor Patrick Henry and "all the Great Men of Virginia" were shocked by the crime and were "much concerned that the Chain of Friendship which binds us together as Neighbours, An[c]ient Allies & Friends, should contract any Rust."<sup>49</sup> Preston and Fleming included the copy of Patrick Henry's proclamation, which discussed apprehending the murderers, that "you may be Assured they will be punished by our Laws, when they are taken in the same

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<sup>46</sup> Preston made reference to Fleming writing the letter when he reviewed it and asked that his signature be placed on it a week later. See William Preston to William Fleming, 12 April 1778, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 265-267.

<sup>47</sup> Preston to Fleming, 12 April 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 265-267.

<sup>48</sup> William Preston and William Fleming to the Shawnees, 3 April 1778, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 258-261.

<sup>49</sup> Preston and Fleming to the Shawnees, 3 April 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 258-261.

manner, as if they had killed so many of our own People” and even offered rewards for their capture.<sup>50</sup>

To further demonstrate the desire for continued friendship, Preston and Fleming proposed that the Shawnees and Virginia’s Indian Commissioners meet at Fort Randolph to discuss reparations and “endeavor to Cover the Blood that has been Spilt upon the Path of Peace, and brighten the Chain of Friendship.”<sup>51</sup> Addressing some of the suspicions that would certainly arise from the requested meeting at Fort Randolph, the very place where Cornstalk and his companions had been so brutally murdered, Preston and Fleming wrote, “We love you, because you are Generous & Sensible. We wish to be Friends with you. We have no desire to injure or molest you. We covet nothing you have. All we desire is Peace with you. this we are earnest to propose because Our Young Men have done amiss & treated you ill. We Acknowledge it, and are Willing to make all the satisfaction we can.”<sup>52</sup> They also set out the logistics for the meeting and to reassure the Shawnees that this was not a trap, announced that they would send a number of white Virginians across the Ohio River equal to the Shawnees attending the meeting as a good faith gesture.

To further encourage the Shawnees to see similarities between themselves and the Virginians and maintain peace, rather than join the Mingoes, Wyandots, and Delawares who professed hostility, Preston and Fleming asked the Shawnees not to listen to the “bad

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<sup>50</sup> Preston and Fleming to the Shawnees, 3 April 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 258-261.

<sup>51</sup> Preston and Fleming to the Shawnees, 3 April 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 258-261.

<sup>52</sup> Preston and Fleming to the Shawnees, 3 April 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 258-261.

talks” of their mutual enemies.<sup>53</sup> These groups, according to Preston and Fleming, “want us to destroy one another and then they will possess Your Lands and ours enslave Our Children & Yours. Your People and Ours live in the same land, breath the same Air, and drink the same water. We ought to live in Peace like Friends & Brothers.”<sup>54</sup> In hopes of thwarting any planned retaliation until after the treaty meeting at Fort Randolph, Preston and Fleming asked that the Shawnees “lay down the Hatchet, and restrain your Young Men from disturbing Our Frontiers, until you hear the good Talk from Our Governor which he will send you by his Commissioners.”<sup>55</sup> In addition to the letter, Patrick Henry’s proclamation, and a string of white wampum signifying peace, the Virginians sent Cornstalk’s sister, Nonhelema, who was known to the Virginians as Katy or the “Grenadier Squaw,” who had made her home adjacent to the Virginians at Fort Randolph, to deliver the message.<sup>56</sup>

While William Preston and William Fleming communicated with Patrick Henry and the Shawnees in hopes of preventing a violent assault on the backcountry, the Indian Commissioners reported their strategy for defense to Edward Hand at Fort Pitt.<sup>57</sup> As Hand implemented the plan and sent orders to the backcountry counties, issues from the previous year resurfaced as William Preston disagreed with the Commissioners’ plans to march men from their home counties and disperse them throughout the backcountry.

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<sup>53</sup> Preston and Fleming to the Shawnees, 3 April 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 258-261.

<sup>54</sup> Preston and Fleming to the Shawnees, 3 April 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 258-261.

<sup>55</sup> Preston and Fleming to the Shawnees, 3 April 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 258-261.

<sup>56</sup> Colin G. Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America* (New York: Viking, 2007), 65; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 67.

<sup>57</sup> Commissioners to Edward Hand, in *Frontier Defense, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 238-240.

Preston found it particularly problematic that the same number of men had been called out from both Botetourt and Rockbridge counties to march to Fort Randolph since Botetourt “has a Frontier of its own to Defend, which is not the case with the latter.”<sup>58</sup> Preston blamed this disregard for Botetourt’s situation in part on the fact that the county was not represented at Fort Pitt since Virginia’s representatives were from Augusta County. He offered his own strategy to postpone implementing the order until Governor Patrick Henry, “who “who by Law has the Command of the Militia,” was made aware of Hand’s instructions and Preston’s views on “the ill Consequences of a Compliance [to the] Requisition.”<sup>59</sup> Patrick Henry responded to Preston’s concerns in agreement that Hand’s orders to disperse men throughout the backcountry would leave other areas vulnerable to attack and, instead, submitted his own instructions to the county to fortify local defense.<sup>60</sup>

In the early months of 1778, all attention on backcountry defense focused on the Shawnees and an expected retaliation for Cornstalk’s murder. While Virginia’s leaders expressed their disgust with the backcountry militiamen who murdered the Shawnees’ principal headman, their primary concern was the devastation that could sweep across western counties like Greenbrier, and even into the interior, if the Indians retaliated. In

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<sup>58</sup> The Commissioners were Sampson Mathews, George Clymer, and Samuel McDowell. See Commissioners to Edward Hand, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 242; Preston to Fleming, 12 April 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 265-267.

<sup>59</sup> The Commissioners were Sampson Mathews, George Clymer, and Samuel McDowell. See Commissioners to Edward Hand, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 242; Preston to Fleming, 12 April 1778, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, 265-267.

<sup>60</sup> Preston to Fleming, 12 April 1778, *Frontier Defense*, 265-267.

spite of Patrick Henry's call for the murderers to be brought to justice and rewards offered for their capture, most of the men who brutally attacked and killed Cornstalk and the other Shawnees being held at Fort Randolph never stood trial, and those who did were acquitted without facing any type of legal repercussions for their actions.<sup>61</sup>

While Virginia leaders focused on preventing an attack offensively through meetings, treaties, and calls for peace, Edward Hand, the commander of Fort Pitt, also made plans to protect the backcountry. As was often the case, Hand found ordering out the militia to be a challenging and unpleasant task as the perilous state of the backcountry counties meant that the county officers were often unwilling or unable to recruit troops because their first concern was home defense. In the face of a seemingly inevitable Indian assault on the backcountry, Greenbrier's settlers made defensive preparations to protect and preserve their homes and the county they had worked so hard to create. Rather than leave Greenbrier settlers solely responsible for defending an Indian attack, Patrick Henry suggested an alternative plan and asked Preston and Fleming to again evaluate the creation of an outpost at Kellys in Greenbrier County. This was not the last time Henry would suggest the outpost or the last time Preston and Fleming would consider its practicality as another line of defense and communication between Greenbrier and Fort Randolph along the Ohio River. Establishing an outpost at Kellys was a recurring topic throughout this period; however, it never seemed to come to

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<sup>61</sup> Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 76; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 168-169.

fruition as the men were often needed elsewhere, or just as the men were prepared to set out, there was an attack that prevented them from leaving their homes.

### **Preparing for Greenbrier's Defense**

While Edward Hand and the Commissioners made plans to guard the frontier, and Patrick Henry reiterated William Preston's concerns about leaving the southern Virginia backcountry unprotected if militiamen were sent elsewhere, John Stuart was coordinating efforts to defend Greenbrier. When John Stuart, who was appointed Greenbrier's County Lieutenant when the new county was formed, received Edward Hand's orders to send fifty men to defend the frontier, he contacted Patrick Henry to inform him that he was unable to fulfill Hand's order as the Greenbrier men were needed to defend their own homes and could not be spared for large-scale frontier defense.<sup>62</sup>

The need for Greenbrier settlers at home was connected to the seasonal pattern of "forting" that was implemented across the region throughout the American Revolution (see Figures 37-38). The periods of "forting" mirrored seasonal hunting patterns among Native Americans in the region. Muddy Creek settler John Patterson, who was in his late-teens and early-twenties during the Revolutionary War, provided a detailed description of the experience in his pension records. Patterson explained that "whilst the war of the

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<sup>62</sup> Patrick Henry to William Fleming, 5 May 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 44-45. Kellogg offers insight to the plans for the post at Kelly's noting "Greenbrier County was erected in October, 1777, from portions of Botetourt and Montgomery counties, and comprised the settlements on Greenbrier River and the unsettled territory along the Great Kanawha to its mouth where Fort Randolph was located. A proposal, which was never consummated, had been made to establish on the Great Kanawha a midway post between Fort Randolph and the settlements." See Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), fn45.



Revolution was going on, my Fathers family includeing myself and many others, were forted during the summer season & in the winter we would return to our Cabbins. when forted it was the custom (and we always pursued it) to live pretty much in common.”<sup>63</sup> Emphasizing the predictable seasonality of Indian attacks, Patterson noted, “we kept no guard at the Fort – in the Winter Spring and fall we employed ourselves in hunting wild game.”<sup>64</sup> John Day, who lived in the Little Levels area, explained that the Indians mostly left in the fall and “the people would then move home out of the forts, and in the Spring the Indians would return and do mischief in the frontiers, and then the people would Fort.”<sup>65</sup> This seasonal interaction between the Indians and Virginians was predicated on Native Americans’ own seasonal rhythm as they planted and harvested crops in the spring and summer, and hunted in the winter months.<sup>66</sup> Additionally, travel through the Appalachian Mountains was challenging during the winter months and greatly reduced violent encounters.

Since Indian attacks increased during the seasons of planting and harvest, Greenbrier’s settlers faced the challenge of cultivating their fields while implementing extra defensive measures. Describing the process of working the fields and harvesting crops while “forted,” one settler explained that the inhabitants of Muddy Creek would

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<sup>63</sup> John Patterson, Pension Record R8003, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements, [www.revwarapps.org](http://www.revwarapps.org) (accessed 24 September 2015). Hereafter, collection cited as SCRWPS.

<sup>64</sup> John Patterson, Pension Record R8003, SCRWPS; Samuel Gwinn also wrote about hunting during the winter months. See Samuel Gwinn, Pension Record S17992, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

<sup>65</sup> John Day, Pension Record S3252, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

<sup>66</sup> Kathryn E. Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 62; Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years’ War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003), 241.

“turn out all together and work [each] others corn and potatoe patches in turn – whilst we were at work, one or two would be detailed to keep a look out for the Indians – and in this way we worked and watched in turn – we always selected some one among us as a sort of leader or Captain.”<sup>67</sup> Another settler, who lived farther north in the Greenbrier Valley near present-day Williamsburg, West Virginia, spent five summer seasons during the war at McCoy’s Fort in Sinking Creek, which was within one mile of his home.<sup>68</sup> Offering more detail about the process of “forting” and planting, one settler explained that people taking refuge in the forts would work the fields adjacent to the fort before moving out as a group to work their individual properties. If news of an attack reached the fort, they would leave the fields and retreat to the fort until the danger passed. The communal nature of harvest and defense in the Greenbrier Valley promoted community cohesion in the face of an outside threat, but it also reveals the uniqueness of this place; communal practices and mutual support were not implemented by all backcountry communities.<sup>69</sup>

The forts erected throughout the Greenbrier Valley were primarily small neighborhood forts or fortified homes, and settlers would rush to the fort closest to their home for refuge in times of attack. There were more than a dozen forts in the Greenbrier Valley and some of the larger neighborhoods had multiple forts, so there are varied descriptions of people repeatedly “forting” in the same areas of the Greenbrier Valley, or spending time at different forts (see Figures 37-38). There are descriptions of settlers

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<sup>67</sup> John Patterson, Pension Record R8003, SCRWPS.

<sup>68</sup> John Patton, Pension Record R8012, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

<sup>69</sup> John McFerren, Pension Record R6712/f6VA, Transcribed by Will Graves, SCRWPS.

“forting” at Renick’s Fort in Spring Creek, and at McCoy’s Fort at Sinking Creek, as well as Vanbibber’s Fort south of Muddy Creek near present-day Lowell, West Virginia.<sup>70</sup> In addition to McCoy’s Fort, the Sinking Creek neighborhood had at least two other forts within a few miles of each other, including “Mud Fort” located a mile or two from McCoy’s Fort, and Donnally’s Fort, which came to be one of the most well-known in the region. McClenachan’s Fort, which was between Sinking Creek and Spring Creek, was also located nearby.<sup>71</sup> The descriptions of “forting” in the Greenbrier Valley reveal a cohesiveness and unity among Greenbrier communities that contrasts with experiences in other areas of the Virginia backcountry, such as the upper Shenandoah Valley, where historians found that settlers did not display the same level of cohesiveness or unity through identity and were, therefore, less likely to participate in cooperative agriculture and defense.<sup>72</sup> In contrast, by the 1770s, Greenbrier settlers had a shared identity as residents of the Greenbrier Valley. Together they had experienced the hardships of settlement and cooperated with one another in commerce, defense and warfare, and now in the patriot cause, which encouraged them to join forces to preserve their lands, homes, and families.

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<sup>70</sup> James Gillilan, Pension Record R4029, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS; Samuel Gwinn, Pension Record S17992, SCRWPS; Joseph McClintick, Pension Record R6623, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS; Kim McBride and W. Stephen McBride, *Frontier Defense: Colonizing Contested Areas in the Greenbrier Valley of West Virginia* (Nicholasville, KY: Warner’s Printing Services for the West Virginia Humanities Council, 2014), 7-9.

<sup>71</sup> McBride and McBride, *Frontier Defense*, 10.

<sup>72</sup> Historian Albert Tillson notes that common interests, values, and identity in the upper Shenandoah Valley did not unify residents enough to encourage them to organize cooperative agricultural labor and that they also refused to work in large groups at harvest to protect themselves from attack. While Tillson qualifies his argument with the statement that small groups of people did work together occasionally, he concludes that on the large scale “upper valley neighborhoods often failed to employ such cooperative practices at times when they were especially needed.” See Albert H. Tillson, *Gentry and Common Folk: Political Culture on a Virginia Frontier, 1740-1789* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 67, fn188.

Although many of the Greenbrier settlers who fortified did so with their families for self-preservation, other accounts reveal that men often found themselves stationed at neighborhood forts as part of their militia service, and many even participated in the construction of the very forts they defended. Another man explained that he was stationed at a fort in the Little Levels of the northern Greenbrier Valley, a mile and a half from the Greenbrier River, “nearly the whole of every summer for six years” fulfilling his duties which were “spying, guarding the Fort and ranging.”<sup>73</sup> By fulfilling these services to his community, he was assured that they would be “accounted as services rendered the government in the line of the Continental Army.”<sup>74</sup> As noted in this description, the forts were primarily defensive structures, but they were also used offensively as bases for militiamen to spy or range throughout the valley and report any approaching threats.<sup>75</sup>

Throughout the American Revolution, Greenbrier settlers spent months at a time “forting” during the warm seasons when there were Indian attacks. The number of documented attacks was minimal in contrast to spending the better part of a decade living and working communally in forts located across the Greenbrier Valley, but it speaks to the ever-present threat of Indian attacks during the American Revolution. When Indians did attack, “forting” did not mean all of the settlers would survive, as seen in the September 1777 attack near James Graham’s home on Muddy Creek that resulted in one person being taken captive and at least three deaths. Although there was greater safety in numbers compared to an individual family in an isolated cabin, because settlers could

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<sup>73</sup> Daniel Taylor, Pension Record S17137, SCRWPS.

<sup>74</sup> Daniel Taylor, Pension Record S17137, SCRWPS.

<sup>75</sup> Jonathan Windsor, Pension Record R11703, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

work together to ward off the attackers, and share supplies and duties.<sup>76</sup> After years of “forting” against the possibility of an Indian attack or skirmish, Cornstalk’s murder practically guaranteed that the Greenbrier Valley would experience Indian raids. In the spring of 1778, rather than a question of “if” the Indians would attack, it became a question of “when” and “where” they would strike first, and the scale of the assault.

### **The Attack on Greenbrier**

In May 1778, six months after Cornstalk’s murder, the retaliation that backcountry settlers long expected finally arrived.<sup>77</sup> The events began at Fort Randolph where William McKee reported that on May 17, one of his men was fired on and wounded, though not mortally, while at the privy outside the walls of the fort.<sup>78</sup> McKee, sensing that the Indians hoped to use the event to draw the men out of the fort, did not allow them to go after the attackers. Later in the day, two men left the fort and one was

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<sup>76</sup> John Vanbibber described the attack near James Graham’s home to William Fleming. Others who were killed include Walter Caldwell, John Graham, and James Grimes who was described as a “Negro fellow.” Elizabeth Graham was taken prisoner, and Isaac Taylor was wounded during the attack. See John Vanbibber to William Fleming, 11 September 1777, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 78-79.

<sup>77</sup> The account of the events of May 1778 and attack on Donnally’s Fort is found in several letters and pension records. Matthew Arbuckle to Edward Hand, 2 June 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 65; Sampson Matthews wrote that “The Frontiers of Green brier has of late, been Infested with the approach of a Large Body of Indians Supos’d to be conducted by whitemen. they laid siege to Capt Andw Donaleys Fort, who was weak & Ill fortified.”<sup>77</sup> For defense, Mathews had ordered eighty men to range on the frontier and seven spies or scouts to watch the different passes. See Sampson Matthews to Commandant at Pittsburgh, 9 June 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 85; Arthur Campbell to Rev. Charles Cummings, 10 June 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 85-87.

<sup>78</sup> William Fleming to William Preston, 5 June 1778, APA 223, LVA.

“shot down & Scalped” just outside the walls. The men in the garrison fired on the Indians, but soon found Fort Randolph surrounded by Native Americans and under fire.<sup>79</sup> The Indians then destroyed the cattle that were grazing around the fort, leaving less than a dozen out of more than 150 cattle, and released the horses, with McKee writing that once the Indians were focused on killing cattle, only a few fired shots at the fort, which did little damage.<sup>80</sup>

After dusk an Indian approached the garrison and “talked as if they wanted peace,” but was told to return in the morning when he was met by Katy, the Grenadier Squaw, and presented with William Preston and William Fleming’s carefully crafted letter expressing their condolences for Cornstalk’s death, and Governor Patrick Henry’s proclamation condemning the murderers. The Indians “seemed very well pleased” by the statements about Cornstalk’s death, promised to return to their side of the Ohio River and return any horses the next day. Once this was done the garrison at Fort Randolph did not see the Indians again.<sup>81</sup> Believing the threat had dissipated, McKee sent two men toward Greenbrier with an express describing the interaction, but the men only got as far as Pocatalico, north of present-day Charleston, West Virginia, before discovering several hundred Indians traveling toward the interior “divided on each side of the river & in small parties up the small creeks” (see Figure 43).<sup>82</sup> The men returned to Fort Randolph,

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<sup>79</sup> Fleming to Preston, 5 June 1778, APA 223, LVA; Arbuckle to Hand, 2 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 64.

<sup>80</sup> William McKee to Edward Hand, 21 June 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 98-99.

<sup>81</sup> McKee to Hand, 21 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 98-99.

<sup>82</sup> McKee to Hand, 21 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 98-99; Matthew Arbuckle reported that the Indians intended to go as far east as Rockbridge County. See Arbuckle to Hand, 2 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 65.

and McKee, who was understandably alarmed at the news, rushed to recruit two scouts knowing it would be vital to Greenbrier's survival for a warning to reach the settlers ahead of the Indians.<sup>83</sup>

The two men who volunteered for the task were Philip Hammond and John Pryor, and William McKee reported that he "was obliged to promise them an extraordinary reward," because of the risk and danger of their task.<sup>84</sup> Both Hammond and Pryor had served in Lord Dunmore's War and were well acquainted with backcountry warfare. Philip Hammond was from the Greenbrier Valley, and he had enlisted in Matthew Arbuckle's company in the spring of 1776 and was stationed at Fort Randolph for the duration of his service.<sup>85</sup> John Pryor was from Albemarle County, Virginia, and was serving at Fort Randolph alongside his brother William, as William's pension record explained years later. According to William, he volunteered initially, but John, as the

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<sup>83</sup> McKee to Hand, 21 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 99; The scouts reached Red House Shoals along the Kanawha River before turning back; William Pryor who was stationed at Fort Randolph names the two men as John Intchminter and John Logan and says "they became so alarmed that they returned on the same evening." See William Pryor, Pension Record S8979, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS. Pocatalico, West Virginia is about fifteen miles northwest of Charleston, West Virginia. Hurricane, West Virginia, was named after Hurricane Creek, a branch of the Kanawha River where all the trees were discovered bent in the same direction. See "Hurricane," e-WV: The West Virginia Encyclopedia, (31 May 2013), <http://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/769> (accessed 7 February 2018).

<sup>84</sup> McKee to Hand, 21 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 99; George Rogers Clark later wrote that he and his men stopped at "the mouth of the grat Konhaway Captn Arbuckell the Comdt informed us that about 250 Indians had warmly attacked his post the Day before and wounded a few of his men that the Enemy had directed their ther Course to the settlements of Greenbrier that he had sent an Express off[f] to give the alarm that if I thought it prudent he was sensible that the forces I had with the addition of part of the Garison could in all probability overtake them before they got to the settlement and give them a total Rout the prospect was flattering but the uncertainty of getting the advantage of the Enimy the loss of time and perhaps a number of men which end in the destruction of the Enterprise that I was on and the almost certainty of fronteers getting the alarm by the Express in time and might repell them (which they did) those Ideas induced me to decline it." See *George Rogers Clark Papers : 1771-1781*, ed. James Alton James (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1912), 221-222.

<sup>85</sup> Philip Hammon/Hammond/Hamman, Pension Record S30452/f60VA, Transcribed by Will Graves, SCRWPS.

older brother, stepped forward after seeing William volunteer, saying that “he was more experienced in Indian Warfare,” and likely wanting to protect William from what might be a suicide mission.<sup>86</sup> William wrote that, “finding that Hammond preferred that my brother should go I gave way, and they were dressed in Indian style by the Grenadier Squaw.”<sup>87</sup> Philip Hammond and John Pryor set out from Fort Randolph and traveled nearly 150 miles before catching up with the Indians at Grassy Meadows, which was about twenty miles west of Camp Union and present-day Lewisburg, West Virginia. At Grassy Meadows, the men crept past the Indians and went directly to Colonel Andrew Donnally’s home.<sup>88</sup>

Sounding the alarm after hearing Philip Hammond and John Pryor’s warning, about twenty-five men under the command of Andrew Donnally, William McCoy, and John Williams, and sixty women and children took refuge at Donnally’s Fort. The fort was located in a small valley about ten miles northwest of Camp Union along a bridle way that was cleared a few years earlier for easier access from the Levels to Donnally’s

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<sup>86</sup> William Pryor, Pension Record S8979, SCRWPS.

<sup>87</sup> William Pryor, Pension Record S8979, SCRWPS; Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 102.

<sup>88</sup> W. Stephen McBride and Kim A. McBride, *An Archaeological Survey of Frontier Forts in the Greenbrier and Middle New River Valleys of West Virginia, Archaeological Report 252* (Charleston, WV: West Virginia Division of Culture and History, 1991), 18; John Jones, Pension Record W7920, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS. In a May 1784 petition to the Virginia Assembly, John Stuart, Andrew Donnally, Samuel Brown, and Andrew Hamilton sought recognition and compensation for Hammond and Pryor’s “Essential service to this Country in the year 1778 when it was discovered at Fort Randolph[...]that a large Body of indians had marched towards this Country, they with great and imminent hazard followed after them near two Hundred miles, and having overtaken them when almost arrived at the Inhabitants did at [risk] of their lives pass by and came and advertize us of their Approach, by which timely notice We secured ourselves, and in the Attack made by Indians on the Station at Colo Donnally’s[...] they were by their Courage highly instrumental in repulsing them By which services they not only merit our thanks but those of the State, as without their Information we had been surprised and this County a Barrier of the State been Ruined.” See John Pryor, Pension Record VAS2025, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS; Philip Hammon/Hammond/Hamman, Pension Record S30452/f60VA, SCRWPS.



Fort.<sup>89</sup> The fort is one of just a few frontier forts in Greenbrier that has both an extant written description and an archaeological report of excavations conducted at the site, and it consisted of a house and stockade which were built by Andrew Donnally in 1771.<sup>90</sup> After receiving the news from Hammond and Pryor, Donnally sent a servant to request assistance and warn Matthew Arbuckle, who was in Greenbrier on furlough visiting his family, and John Stuart, who was at Camp Union. The news of the Indian gathering quickly spread throughout the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>91</sup>

In the early morning hours of May 29, 1778, less than two weeks after William McKee's initial interactions with the Indians at Fort Randolph, the Indians attacked Donnally's Fort. Most of the inhabitants were asleep, but Philip Hammond and Richard "Dick" Pointer, one of Andrew Donnally's slaves, were awake and in the fort's kitchen when they saw Indians laying down their guns at the stable, about fifty yards from the house, and approaching "with tomahawks and war clubs."<sup>92</sup> Hammond and Pointer braced the kitchen door with a hogshead of water and, once the door gave way, killed two of the intruders on the threshold. Pointer, who had a loaded musket, shot through the doorway and into the crowd of Indians moving toward the fort and the gunshot woke the others who were soon firing out the windows of the fort's second story.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Present-day Rader's Valley.

<sup>90</sup> McBride and McBride, *Frontier Defense*, 12; McBride and McBride, *Archaeological Survey of Frontier Forts*, 17; The fort consisted of a gated stockade wall, with several portholes used for firing out of the fort and at least one bastion, which surrounded and connected to a two-story house with a kitchen attached to one side.

<sup>91</sup> William Pryor, Pension Record S8979, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

<sup>92</sup> Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars".

<sup>93</sup> Years later, a number of the survivors of the attack on Donnally's Fort petitioned the Virginia General Assembly to purchase Dick Pointer's freedom, at public expense, for his heroic actions. See Rice, *Allegheny Frontier*, 104.

Meanwhile, John Stuart, who heard the news in the previous days, was gathering recruits at Camp Union to aid Donnally's men. Stuart noted that "all were busy; some flying with their families to the inward settlements, and others securing their property" as news of the imminent attack spread.<sup>94</sup> Stuart sent scouts toward Donnally's Fort on May 29, and they returned with news that they "heard the guns firing briskly" when they were within one mile of the fort and knew it was under attack.<sup>95</sup> He was eventually able to find sixty-eight men, including Captain Matthew Arbuckle, Colonel Samuel Lewis, and himself, who were willing to march to Donnally's defense.<sup>96</sup> Arriving late in the afternoon, Stuart and his reinforcements saw that they were greatly outnumbered by the Indians who were stationed "behind trees in a rye-field" near the fort.<sup>97</sup> Hearing commotion upon Stuart's arrival, the people in the fort initially believed they were being attacked by another party of Indians, but soon saw that it was Stuart's men and let them through the gate. Matthew Arbuckle reported that even after their arrival at Donnally's Fort, the Indians "continued their siege till night when they hall'd nine of their men away" and "the rem'd we sculped in the morning."<sup>98</sup> Arbuckle noted that the Indians "came well acquipped with pack horses and driving cattle, but the campaign I believe is

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<sup>94</sup> Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars".

<sup>95</sup> Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars".

<sup>96</sup> These three men are identified in John Stuart's sworn statement enclosed with Dick Pointer's Pension Record. Other men who marched to the aid of Donnally's Fort are listed amongst Revolutionary War Pension Records. See Samuel Gwinn, S17992, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS. It was reported that the attack on Donnally's Fort lasted from sunrise till about four o'clock in the afternoon when Arbuckle and Lewis arrived. See William Preston to William Fleming, 2 June 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 66-67.

<sup>97</sup> Stuart, "Transcript of the memoir of Indian wars".

<sup>98</sup> Arbuckle to Hand, 2 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 65.

partly broke up.”<sup>99</sup> Tallying the casualties after the attack, it was reported that there were four lives lost and two men wounded on the side of the Greenbrier settlers, while seventeen Indians were killed during the attack.<sup>100</sup>

In the aftermath of the attack on Donnally’s Fort, Greenbrier settlers expected the Indians to continue attacking other neighborhoods, so they remained “forted up” or moved to locations with greater security even as militia from the east arrived in the region. Hearing of the attack, Captain William Hamilton and his men stationed near Muddy Creek marched five miles in the dark to the more substantial Arbuckle’s Fort.<sup>101</sup> Militia from the counties of Augusta, Rockbridge, Montgomery, Bedford, and areas of Botetourt County east of the mountains, were sent to Greenbrier to defend neighborhood forts in case of more attacks. After hearing of the attack on Donnally’s Fort, and expecting more attacks, men stationed at Renick’s Fort on Spring Creek, about five miles northeast of Donnally’s Fort, hastened to McCoy’s Fort, expecting it to be the site of the next attack (see Figures 37-38).<sup>102</sup>

Receiving a warning about the expected attack as it was underway, although unbeknownst to him, William Preston wrote to William Fleming that he was “extremely

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<sup>99</sup> Arbuckle to Hand, 2 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 65.

<sup>100</sup> Alexander S. Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Clarksburg, VA: Joseph Israel, 1831), 243; James Gillilan’s pension record provides the names and numbers of casualties. The four casualties were John Prichet, Alexander Ocheltree, and James Burns were killed outside the fort, and James Graham who was killed by a ball passing through a porthole. See James Gillilan, Pension Record R4029, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS; William Hamilton (not the captain from Muddy Creek) and William Blake were wounded. See McBride and McBride, *Frontier Defense*, 13.

<sup>101</sup> John Patterson, Pension Record R8003, SCRWPS; Stephen and Kim McBride write, “Hamilton’s action certainly suggests that Arbuckle’s Fort was the strongest of the Muddy Creek forts. Hamilton’s Fort was likely either a smaller stockade than Arbuckle’s or simply a log house or blockhouse.” See McBride and McBride, *Frontier Defense*, 14; Arbuckle to Hand, 2 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 64-65.

<sup>102</sup> Jonathan Hughes, Pension Record S9591, Transcribed by C. Leon Harris, SCRWPS.

uneasy on account of our Western frontier, as there is reason to doubt a stroke will be made there at the same time without a Possibility of any previous Notice. For, I have not a doubt but the Enemy will endeavor to make the stroke as ext[en]sive as Possible & spread Destruction & Terror along our whole Frontiers.”<sup>103</sup> Specifically referencing Greenbrier, Preston wrote, “I tremble for the fate of the Greenbrier People, God relieve them, for I doubt it is not in the Power of Man; as the alarm was so sudden & they so remote.”<sup>104</sup> The following day Preston wrote to Fleming again to express his concern for Greenbrier, writing,

I cannot express my Anxiety for the People in Greenbrier; I long ardently to hear from them, at the same time that I fear it. My Hopes & Fears for them rise by turns, but I confess the latter of often preponderates. I am afraid they have not lead, that their Forts were not finished, that they will be in Confusion & too many Directors at every Post, & that no one Place will be able to withstand the first attack, which no Doubt will be Violent. Heaven Grant, that my apprehensions may be Groundless.<sup>105</sup>

Greenbrier settlers for the most part were not devastated by the attack at Donnally’s Fort, and were quickly supplemented with militias from Botetourt, Augusta, and Rockbridge counties. William Fleming reported sending men from at least six Botetourt companies into Greenbrier “to ward against this formidable invasion” and prevent the Indians from moving further into the interior.<sup>106</sup> Men from Augusta and Rockbridge, reportedly numbering 800, also came to Greenbrier’s defense when they

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<sup>103</sup> William Preston to William Fleming, 30 May 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 62-63

<sup>104</sup> Preston to Fleming, 30 May 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 62-63.

<sup>105</sup> Preston to Fleming, 2 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 66-67.

<sup>106</sup> Fleming to Preston, 5 June 1778, APA 223, LVA.

heard of the attack and they arrived in time join the men who were pursuing the Indians back toward the Ohio River.<sup>107</sup>

As a preventative tactic against further Indian incursion, and retribution for the attack on Donnally's Fort, a number of young men from Greenbrier decided to form a company and march, at their own expense, across the Ohio River and into Indian Country where they would "annoy the Enemy & endeavor for a time to divert them from coming into our Frontiers."<sup>108</sup> Hearing of this plan, Patrick Henry offered an enthusiastic reply, writing that he "greatly approve[d] the Spirit of the young men who are to go to the enemys Country."<sup>109</sup> He cautioned that it was important to remember there were upcoming plans for a treaty with the Shawnees and Delawares at Fort Pitt, but noted that the treaty might be unnecessary if "very vigorous offensive operations" were carried out.<sup>110</sup> While the "young men" volunteered at their own expense, Patrick Henry responded that Virginia would compensate them for this service to their country.<sup>111</sup> Writing to "the Capt[ain] who may be chosen by the Volunteers[...]that are about to March into the Indian Country," William Preston informed the men that "The scheme [has] reached the Ears of Government and met with its approbation & applause; therefore, nothing remains but to put it into execution and especially as the Eyes of the

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<sup>107</sup> Campbell reported that 800 men from Augusta and Rockbridge rushed to Greenbrier's aid. See Campbell to Cummings, 10 June 1778, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio*, 85-87.

<sup>108</sup> William Preston to Andrew Lewis, 14 June 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 89-90.

<sup>109</sup> Patrick Henry to William Preston, 27 June 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 100-101.

<sup>110</sup> Henry to Preston, 27 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 100-101.

<sup>111</sup> Henry to Preston, 27 June 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 100-101; In 1782, a dozen of the men, including James Thompson who had been chosen Captain of the enterprise, sought the compensation that Patrick Henry offered. See William Russell, 8 September 1782, APA 223, LVA.

country are upon those that have engaged in it their hopes are raised & their warmest wishes offered for the success of it.”<sup>112</sup> Preston hoped that none of the men “will Shamefully draw back[...]and thereby expose the few brave men who are determined to go to imminent danger” as “such behavior would fix an indelible stain on the Military Character of every Delinquent,” which could not be removed.<sup>113</sup>

Offering practical advice to the company, William Preston recommended that the Greenbrier men march first to Fort Randolph where they could acquire supplies and lead before taking canoes down the Ohio River and proceeding west on foot.<sup>114</sup> Once in Indian Country, Preston suggested that the men go to places where they were “most likely to meet with the Hunters & their Families, or at Salt Licks where they can most effectually [be] annoyed by your Party.”<sup>115</sup> Preston also offered general instructions about conduct, recommending “not only the Strictest Discipline, but the Greatest Unanimity of your Men” as “Should either be neglected you may be assured your danger will be great & the hopes of success very small.”<sup>116</sup> After so much encouragement from their community, backcountry leaders, and even the governor of Virginia, the men set out to “March to the Indian Towns, as hereby they might amuse the Indians with their attacks and thereby preserve the Frontiers for a time” on an eight-week mission.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> William Preston to Captain of the Volunteers from [Montgomery?], APA 223, LVA.

<sup>113</sup> Preston to Captain of the Volunteers, APA 223, LVA; Henry to Preston, 27 June 1778, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio*, 100-101.

<sup>114</sup> Preston to Captain of the Volunteers, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>115</sup> Preston to Captain of the Volunteers, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>116</sup> Preston to Captain of the Volunteers, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>117</sup> William Russell, 8 September 1782, APA 223, LVA.

As reports of Indians traveling through the Greenbrier Valley and moving east continued, William Fleming reported to Patrick Henry that both Botetourt and Montgomery County “have been constantly infested” since the attack on Donnally’s Fort, and he “never knew such a general Panick amongst the People, Many have fled, And many [are] on the Wing.”<sup>118</sup> Settlers were gathered in the forts, or in whichever home they could defend, but they did not have sufficient weapons, so Fleming requested that 150 rifles or muskets be dispersed to both counties from the public magazine.<sup>119</sup> Fleming was convinced that “scarcely a house has escaped being viewed by their spies” and that this “unusual behavior of the enemy” maintaining a presence in the area while “doing so little mischeif in murdering people, their neither stealing horses, killing Cattle, nor rifling deserted houses, makes it believed they meditate a heavey stroak And that they want to get a thorough knowledge of the Country at a future day to carry distruction into the interior parts of it.”<sup>120</sup> While Fleming described people in eastern Botetourt and Montgomery counties “on the Wing,” similar accounts of Greenbrier settlers do not exist, and though they “forted up,” they willingly stayed in the region, perhaps because the geography meant they could not easily flee east, but also because they were conditioned for these experiences and unwilling to give up their homes or land.

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<sup>118</sup> William Fleming and William Preston to Patrick Henry, 8 July 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 106-107; William Fleming to Patrick Henry, 19 July 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 115-119.

<sup>119</sup> William Fleming and William Preston to Patrick Henry, 8 July 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 106-107; Fleming to Henry, 19 July 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 115-119.

<sup>120</sup> Fleming to Henry, 19 July 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 115-119.

While everyone from William McKee at Fort Randolph, to the settlers in Greenbrier, and William Fleming and William Preston as the County Lieutenants of Greenbrier and Botetourt believed the attack on Donnally's Fort and the Indians ranging the Greenbrier Valley were retaliating for Cornstalk's murder in October 1777, a letter from a Moravian missionary in Pennsylvania revealed that was not necessarily the case. David Zeisberger was a Moravian missionary to the Indians of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and he lived in western Pennsylvania. Writing about recent Indian attacks along the Kanawha, near Point Pleasant, Zeisberger explained that "The Half King of the Wyandotts with all his men & Mingoos with him, a hundred in all" had gone to the fort at Kanawha and some continued down the river. Zeisberger went on to describe the events William McKee recounted at Fort Randolph in mid-May. He did not offer any information specifically about the attack on Donnally's Fort; however, his description reveals that Wyandot or Huron Indians from Sandusky were responsible for the attacks on Greenbrier rather than the Shawnees.<sup>121</sup>

Surviving the attack on Donnally's Fort and the period of violence in May and June 1778 further unified the Greenbrier community as the citizens of the newly formed county faced these hardships together. The events at Fort Randolph and Donnally's Fort were a reminder that Greenbrier was physically isolated and exposed to Indian attacks no matter its status as part of the western portion of Botetourt County, or as a newly formed

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<sup>121</sup> David Zeisberger to George Morgan, 9 June 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 82; Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), fn82.



county. While becoming “Greenbrier County” offered settlers greater legitimacy among Virginia’s government and local legal options to preserve their land claims, it did not mean that they could not lose those lands through physical violence to themselves, their families, and their neighborhoods. Despite these challenges, Greenbrier settlers persevered and remained in the region, even if they spent years “forting” and working their fields communally.

### **Supporting Local and Regional Defense**

After the Indian attacks in the Greenbrier Valley, the militiamen were even less inclined to abandon their families and homes to fight elsewhere, but they were soon called up for an expedition against the British outpost at Detroit, which was a key location for the British to recruit Indian support against the Americans (see Figure 41).<sup>122</sup> In May 1778, before the events in Greenbrier, Edward Hand was finally granted his wish to be recalled from the western frontier and was replaced with General Lachlan McIntosh as the new commander at Fort Pitt.<sup>123</sup> McIntosh had most recently been with George Washington at Valley Forge, but he previously spent many years on the Georgia frontier and was well-versed in Indian diplomacy, making him an ideal choice as the commander of the western frontier. McIntosh’s reasoning for an expedition to Detroit echoed much

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<sup>122</sup> Walter S. Dunn, *Choosing Sides on the Frontier in the American Revolution* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), 166.

<sup>123</sup> Congress, 2 May 1778, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 293-294; George Morgan to Edward Hand, 16 May 1778, in *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, (1908; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 297-298.

of what Edward Hand argued a year earlier. Many saw the expedition as the “only remedy against the frequent Incursions of the Indians who infest the Frontiers of Virginia,” but he quickly learned what Hand discovered the previous year – that backcountry Virginians would support an expedition only on their own terms.<sup>124</sup>

George Morgan, the Congressionally appointed Indian Agent at Fort Pitt, offered a list of reasons why an attack on Detroit would remedy Indian attacks and was much preferred to “a mere Expedition into the Indian Country.”<sup>125</sup> Morgan’s rationale for an assault on Detroit included the lack of powerful Indian tribes along the route, the possibility of encouraging the Delawares and Shawnees, the very people the Greenbrier residents believed attacked them, to join the Americans in the expedition, expecting that the situation of Fort Detroit would “induce all the Tribes to enter our Alliance through fear & interest.”<sup>126</sup> If the expedition was merely a venture into Indian Country, Morgan reasoned that it was not worth the “risque & expence of a large body of Men,” and he referenced Edward Hand’s campaign the previous year, which had devastating results considering the murder of Cornstalk and others who were a “friend to the United States.”<sup>127</sup>

While George Morgan thought favorably of McIntosh’s planned expedition if it was directed at Detroit, Patrick Henry and the Virginia Council voiced their preference

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<sup>124</sup> George Morgan to the Board of War, 17 July 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 112-113; Patrick Griffin, *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008), 141.

<sup>125</sup> Morgan to Board of War, 17 July 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 112-113.

<sup>126</sup> Morgan to Board of War, 17 July 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 112-113.

<sup>127</sup> Morgan to Board of War, 17 July 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 112-113.

for an expedition against hostile Indians in the Ohio Country who were a more immediate concern for backcountry Virginians. In a resolution on July 7, 1778, the Virginia Council advised against McIntosh's expedition to Detroit and authorized him to call out men from many backcountry counties "to carry on an expedition against the hostile Indians, & chastise them as they deserve."<sup>128</sup> Countering George Morgan's sentiments in yet another example of backcountry perspective differing from national concerns, Patrick Henry wrote,

The Miseries of the people of Virginia who live exposed to the Assaults of the Savages, affect me most Sensibly. And in my anxiety to see something doing for their protection, I hope for Excuse from Congress when I suggest, that if an Expedition is directed against the Hostile Tribes nearest our Frontiers, very good Consequences might result. Such a Step seems to be free from the Objections which are hinted against the Attack of Detroit, where a post will be difficult to maintain while the great intermediate Country is occupied by Hostile Indians, & from which it seems easy for the enemy to retreat with all their Stores while they are Superior upon the adjacent Waters.<sup>129</sup>

Considering the ability to require recruits from among Virginia's backcountry settlers, Henry wrote that "Our Frontier people wish for offensive Measures against the Indian Towns & will enlist freely for that purpose. But I cannot help doubting whether the apparent Difficulties of succeeding against Detroit at present, will not be an Obstacle with them against engaging in the Service."<sup>130</sup> Henry knew backcountry settlers would

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<sup>128</sup> Resolutions of Virginia Council, 7 July 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 104.

<sup>129</sup> "Patrick Henry in Council to Henry Laurens, 8 July 1778," *James Madison Papers, Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified 12 July 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-01-02-0082> (accessed 12 September 2016).

<sup>130</sup> "Patrick Henry in Council to Henry Laurens, 8 July 1778," *Founders Online*.

be realistic about the possibility of a successful expedition, but also had a better understanding of their willingness to support a mission they could directly connect to the safety and preservation of their homes and families.

By the end of July 1778, the Continental Congress resolved that the expedition against the British at Detroit be deferred and they instead suggested a mission against hostile Indian towns.<sup>131</sup> When Congress announced the Detroit expedition's deferral, they also resolved that Virginia counties supply militia to General McIntosh for the secondary mission to the Indian towns, and in August, Patrick Henry notified William Fleming of the change in plans and the need for men to comply with the directives from the Continental Congress.<sup>132</sup> Since it was already the end of the summer, Henry asked that all orders be executed quickly and that each step should be reported to him along the way.

The season was even further advanced by the time Virginia's County Lieutenants received the official orders from McIntosh to send two hundred men to Fort McIntosh, located about twenty-five miles northwest of Fort Pitt, in October (see Figure 41).<sup>133</sup> By November, letters from the backcountry county lieutenants were arriving in Williamsburg to report McIntosh's request to question its authority and practicality.<sup>134</sup> The men were expected to immediately march to the rendezvous point, which forced the Virginia

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<sup>131</sup> Resolution of Continental Congress, 25 July 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 121.

<sup>132</sup> Resolution of Continental Congress, 25 July 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 121.

<sup>133</sup> Lachlan McIntosh to William Fleming, 30 October 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 154.

<sup>134</sup> Orders of the Virginia Council, 20 November 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 176.

Council to intervene and explain “the Impracticability of marching the Troops [in] this inclement season, thro’ a country distant of Supplys.”<sup>135</sup> After the Council’s decision, Patrick Henry sent letters to the county lieutenants to halt their preparations.<sup>136</sup>

Meanwhile in the backcountry, William Christian, who lived along the New River at Dunkard Bottom near present-day Radford, Virginia, had heard of McIntosh’s orders, but was unaware of the Council’s intervention and openly expressed his alarm. Christian considered McIntosh’s orders to be a form of tyranny as requiring the men to leave their families without sufficient supplies or defense through the winter months would result in their complete devastation.<sup>137</sup> Christian was appalled that McIntosh had ordered men drafted from “all these back counties, I am told even from Greenbrier Montgomery & Washington[...]Lord deliver us from such oppression. I don’t know what the People will do.”<sup>138</sup> Had the orders requested men the following spring, “something might have been done,” but “The absurdity of the present measures wants to explanation.”<sup>139</sup> This “absurdity” was something backcountry settlers had ascribed to Edward Hand previously, and now to Lachlan McIntosh as the men commanding Fort Pitt seemed to be unaware of the challenges of living in the mountains of the Virginia backcountry through the winter months.

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<sup>135</sup> Patrick Henry to William Preston, 20 November 1778, APA 223, LVA; Also see Orders of the Virginia Council, 20 November 1778, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio*, 176; Patrick Henry to William Fleming, 20 November 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 177.

<sup>136</sup> Henry to Preston, 20 November 1778, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>137</sup> William Christian’s sister was married to Stephen Trigg.

<sup>138</sup> William Christian to Stephen Trigg, 22 November 1778, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 177-178.

<sup>139</sup> Christian to Trigg, 22 November 1778, *Frontier Advance*, 177-178.

Reflecting on the state of the frontier counties, William Preston further described the tyranny of McIntosh's orders as he reported that the men who had families were unable to leave them for so long "without giving up those Families to ruin and Beggery, which many of them are on the Brink of already" because of the "almost continual war with the Savages" over many years which caused them to lose time, property, and crops because of the necessities of "forting up" and serving in the militia.<sup>140</sup> Preston stated that he could "point out whole detached settlements on these Frontiers, where there have not been a Barrel of Corn raised to the Head last Summer, & where they have nothing to feed the remains of their Stock on but are obliged to drive them a considerable Distance to Cane Brakes & mountains to preserve their Lives through the Winter."<sup>141</sup> Speaking specifically to the treacherous nature of McIntosh's proposed expedition, Preston argued that, to

drag Men from their homes on a few days notice under the above circumstances to the distance of four, five or six hundred miles, on a duty of eight or ten months, through a Tract of Country interspersed with several high Mountains and many large rapid Watercourses, at the rigorous season of the year into a Northern Climate without a tent or blanket to shelter them by night, or half cloathing to cover them by Day from the inclemency of the Weather, and at the same time to leave their helpless & unhappy Families, exposed to every species of wretchedness, misery and distress, to which hunger nakedness, poverty and danger can subject them, must be shocking to humanity not to mention that such a March must render those troops or rather the survivors of them, incapable of service the ensuing Campaign.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> William Preston to Governor Patrick Henry, 25 November 1778, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>141</sup> Preston to Henry, 25 November 1778, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>142</sup> Preston to Henry, 25 November 1778, APA 223, LVA.

This was particularly applicable to Greenbrier where devastation and uncertainty reigned throughout the summer months, but their survival was a result of the strength of their community to defend each other by forting-up in neighborhood forts and working the fields communally in rotation. Many men were already stationed at Point Pleasant, so to take more men away would threaten the community's very existence, in addition to the physical threat to the men who would be sent out on a winter march ill-equipped for the journey. Preston went on note other concerns, such as the likelihood of "a general Mutiny and defiance of the Law" throughout the backcountry counties which would be too great to subdue. Reiterating William Christian's emphasis on the timing of the proposed expedition being more problematic than the expedition itself, Preston observed that the men "proffered the greatest Readiness this Fall to serve on an Expedition to be carried immediately in to the Indian Country even till Christmas or longer and I firmly believe the[y] would most cheerfully have engaged in the Undertaking."<sup>143</sup>

While Virginia's Governor and Council halted Lachlan McIntosh's orders to call out men from the backcountry counties, the plans for an expedition did result in the construction of new defenses and reinforcements for the frontier forts that ultimately caused a directional shift in frontier warfare in 1779. In preparation for the campaign, McIntosh had ordered the construction of Fort Laurens, located just south of present-day Canton, Ohio, about eighty miles west of Fort Pitt and more than one hundred miles from Fort Randolph, in the fall of 1778.<sup>144</sup> Fort Laurens proved to be a poorly supplied and

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<sup>143</sup> Preston to Henry, 25 November 1778, APA 223, LVA.

<sup>144</sup> Recollections of Stephen Burkam, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 159.

isolated garrison, unable to be the powerhouse western point of defense beyond Fort Pitt, but it marked a shift toward western Pennsylvania and away from Point Pleasant and Greenbrier County.<sup>145</sup> By early January 1779, the Fort Randolph garrison was composed of “the remains of a company late O’Hara’s with 15 men more of the 13<sup>th</sup> Regt Va” stationed there “for the convenience of getting small supplies in the country.”<sup>146</sup> The garrison continued to be supplied primarily by Greenbrier settlers and a few months later, men from the recently created independent companies joined them.

After serving as the front line of Greenbrier’s defense for nearly five years, there were contradictory reports about the fort’s status through 1779. In the summer, George Washington received a letter from Fort Pitt, stating that Fort Randolph had been evacuated and immediately burned by the Indians; however, this was the only reference to the fort’s destruction.<sup>147</sup> At the same time, the Council of Virginia ordered a battalion raised for western service with half of the men stationed at Fort Randolph.<sup>148</sup> Six weeks later, Andrew Lewis and William Fleming also made no reference to Fort Randolph’s destruction when they submitted a report about establishing communication outposts

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<sup>145</sup> Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 73.

<sup>146</sup> Lachlan McIntosh to Board of War, 11 January 1779, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 198; Lachlan McIntosh to George Washington, 27 April 1779, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 294.

<sup>147</sup> William Crawford to George Washington, 12 July 1779, in *The Washington-Crawford Letters*, ed. C.W. Butterfield (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1877), 72.

<sup>148</sup> Resolution of Council of Virginia, 23 July 1779, in *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778-1779*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1916), 401-404.



along the western frontier, including one “between Fort Randolph & Green Brier County.”<sup>149</sup>

Although it is possible the information George Washington received was a rumor, a letter from Andrew Lewis in 1780 seems to substantiate the idea that the fort was indeed burned at some point in 1779.<sup>150</sup> Lewis described the ongoing plans to establish a fort “at Kelley’s on the great Kanhaway” as a point of communication with Fort Randolph and instructed them to leave most of their supplies at Kellys “until you have constructed a Fort of sufficient capacity where stood Fort Randolph, built your Barracks and store houses and prepared for salting your Winter Beef.”<sup>151</sup> The need for barracks and store houses was based on previous experience as the Indians would “have it much in their power to destroy or drive off your Cattle,” as they had when they passed Fort Randolph prior to the attack on Donnally’s Fort in 1778.<sup>152</sup> Despite Lewis’ instructions, it appears that the garrison at Fort Randolph was not reestablished at Point Pleasant during the Revolution. Though it is unclear exactly why Lewis’ orders were not carried out, it was likely, at least partially, because warfare on the western frontier had shifted toward the Ohio Country or Kentucky.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Andrew Lewis and William Fleming to Thomas Jefferson, 31 August 1779, in *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1917), 50-52.

<sup>150</sup> Andrew Lewis to Joseph Crockett, 10 August 1780, in *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1917), 243-244.

<sup>151</sup> Lewis to Crockett, 10 August 1780, *Frontier Retreat*, 243-244.

<sup>152</sup> Lewis to Crockett, 10 August 1780, *Frontier Retreat*, 243-244.

<sup>153</sup> Virgil A. Lewis states that a fort was reconstructed on the site in 1785 after being evacuated in 1779, but does not make any reference to Andrew Lewis’ instructions for the construction of a new fort in 1780 or offer an explanation as to why they were not carried out. See Virgil A. Lewis, *First Biennial Report of the Department of Archives and History of the State of West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: The Tribune Printing Company, 1906), 239.

## **Developing County Infrastructure**

From 1775 to 1777, Greenbrier settlers dealt with defense alongside county business, and they managed a similar balance from 1778 to 1782. From 1779 to the British surrender at Yorktown in 1781, after the creation of Greenbrier County and the Indian attacks in 1778, the county became more firmly established in Virginia's governance through new infrastructure and direct interaction between Greenbrier settlers, Virginia's government, and the new Virginia Governor, Thomas Jefferson, who took office in June 1779. While settlers saw county and regional defense as a way to protect their homes and families, they also worked within the Greenbrier County court to establish ordinaries, maintain county roads, and pursue issues related to land title, which legitimized their homes and provide legal protection.

Greenbrier County's first clerk neglected to record county business from 1778 to 1780, but some extant documents, like an ordinary license issued to Matthew Arbuckle in 1778 and renewed in 1779 and 1780, survive and offer insights into the county during its first few years of existence.<sup>154</sup> Records like Arbuckle's ordinary license are a reminder that whatever the hardships, Greenbrier settlers saw a future in the region and anticipated a time when the violence and warfare would end. Although they were not documented in county record books, county papers stored at Greenbrier County's courthouse until the early twenty-first century offer some record of the men who served as justices during the first years of Greenbrier County's existence. On October 12, 1779, Archer Mathews, William Renick, spelled "Renix," John Anderson, John Henderson, William Hutcheson,

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<sup>154</sup> License for Ordinary, 1770-Mathew Arbuckle, Container 1A, Folder 24, GHS, Lewisburg, WV.

Samuel Glass, and William Poage were appointed as Justices of the Peace in Greenbrier County.<sup>155</sup> While these men were known in the county, none had served as justices when the Botetourt County Court recommended justices for the new county eighteen months earlier.<sup>156</sup> Since men like John Stuart and Andrew Donnally, who were among the first justices in 1778, were still living in the area, it is likely that their absence from the county court was a sign of their involvement with warfare and county defense.

There were also additional worries about landholdings that the creation of Greenbrier County alone had not resolved. In 1779, Virginia created a Land Office and enacted a land act, which recognized settlers who claimed land prior to 1778 based on their improvements to the property.<sup>157</sup> Many of Greenbrier's settlers solidified their landholdings, which they were "intitled to by settlement before the first day of January 1778" and those who made such claims were able to purchase more land at a reduced price.<sup>158</sup> The law thus enabled squatters to establish a legal right to their land and placed value on their sweat and labor to make improvements.<sup>159</sup> Historians Patrick Griffin and Stephen Aron note that, on paper, the 1779 land law seemed to support the average

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<sup>155</sup> Appointment-JP-1779, Container 1, Folder 37, Greenbrier County Records, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>156</sup> The justices recommended by the Botetourt County court on the establishment of Greenbrier County on March 1, 1778 were, James Henderson, Andrew Donnally, John Stuart, Samuel Lewis, Samuel Brown, George Poage, William Hamilton "of Muddy Creek," William Ward and Michael Woods. See 12 February 1778, *Annals*, ed. Summers, 266.

<sup>157</sup> Griffin, *American Leviathan*, 148; "Improvements" could be as little as clearing a small space of ground or constructing a few stacks of logs as a "cabin." See Stephen Aron, *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 71.

<sup>158</sup> Greenbrier County Survey Book 1, Lewisburg, WV.

<sup>159</sup> Aron, *How the West Was Lost*, 70.

settler; however, it actually was the most beneficial to those who could speculate in large-scale investments.<sup>160</sup>

In Greenbrier, concerns about land laws and their implementation manifested in a petition from the freeholders to the House of Burgesses. The freeholders explained that an act had been passed for commissioners to review the inhabitants' land titles and make adjustments as needed, but the settlers "either through the neglect of said commissioners or the artifice of designing persons," were not notified when the commissioners would arrive until they reached the courthouse late in December 1779 (see Figure 44).<sup>161</sup> By this time of year, many of the settlers were unable to reach the courthouse because of inclement weather "which lasted during the whole sitting of the commissioners."<sup>162</sup> The petitioners also felt ill-equipped to challenge the commissioners if there were discrepancies because they were unfamiliar with the law and had only one lawyer to appear before them, so they were forced to "put our said claims to trial Whereby the commissioners judgment became final and we [were] deprived of any further redress."<sup>163</sup> Although addressing titles for their land claims, the petitioners also sought affirmation for their plan for the creation of a road and the cost of "raising twenty tunns of hemp off the tithable persons in this county for the purpose of making a market road from this place to Richmond," which would be of great convenience to Greenbrier's inhabitants and to the general public.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Griffin, *American Leviathan*, 148; Aron, *How the West Was Lost*, 71.

<sup>161</sup> Freeholders: Petition, Greenbrier County, 5 December 1780, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>162</sup> Freeholders: Petition, Greenbrier County, 5 December 1780, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>163</sup> Freeholders: Petition, Greenbrier County, 5 December 1780, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>164</sup> Freeholders: Petition, Greenbrier County, 5 December 1780, LPDC, LVA.

Examining the signatures of the petitioners who addressed the Assembly about their land titles reveals the extent of change in the Greenbrier region from 1775 to 1780. In 1775, Botetourt County's resolutions in support of the Continental Congress and Second Virginia Convention did not include the names of Botetourt's freeholders, but from the list of militia and Botetourt County justices who lived in the Greenbrier Valley or farther west, it was possible to surmise just a handful of the men who would have been freeholders in the region because of their presence in Botetourt's records.<sup>165</sup> Five years later, this list identified 171 freeholders in the Greenbrier Valley alone.<sup>166</sup> Among these men were settlers from every area of the Greenbrier Valley and, although many had been in the region since at least 1774 according to their survey records from the Greenbrier Company, they had been invisible within the larger Botetourt County.

Many Greenbrier men were employed scouting for Indians on the frontier throughout the American Revolution, and in May 1780, Greenbrier settlers petitioned the Assembly for an increase in their wages. The petition stated, "the keeping of spies on our Frontiers, for the purpose of discovering the approach of the enemy; has been found to be, the best preventative measure" but, as inflation continued to climb and the value of Continental currency depreciated through the war, the pay was "unequal to their trouble" and "they cannot be employed for that sum."<sup>167</sup> The men who signed the petition asking for increased wages for the spies included Andrew Donnally, Matthew Arbuckle, Andrew

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<sup>165</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), 11 March 1775, 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 24 March 1775, 3.

<sup>166</sup> Freeholders: Petition, Greenbrier County, 5 December 1780, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>167</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, Greenbrier County, 18 May 1780, LPDC, LVA.

Hamilton, and many others who had seen the vital role spies played in preventing Greenbrier's devastation first-hand.<sup>168</sup>

Through 1780, Virginia's General Assembly passed a number of acts and resolutions impacting Greenbrier County and developing the county's infrastructure. In July 1780, the General Assembly required each county to supply "one good and serviceable wagon with a good cover and a team of four good horses and complete harness with a driver" for the use of the army and arrange a tax for the payment of the "said wagon, team, driver, and all necessary charges attending the same."<sup>169</sup> The following year, an officer at the Albemarle Barracks in Charlottesville, Virginia, reported that Greenbrier, along with four other counties, had not yet delivered their required wagon.<sup>170</sup> Greenbrier never furnished the required wagon and team, and Samuel Brown offered an explanation for their neglect of the order, as "The situation of the County is so remote that Acts of Assembly rarely reach them until they are out of date, as was the case in this instance."<sup>171</sup> By the time Greenbrier County received the order, purchased horses and harnesses, and ordered the construction of a wagon, the failure of Continental money prevented its completion and, with winter fast approaching, they thought it best to sell the

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<sup>168</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, Greenbrier County, 18 May 1780, LPDC, LVA. The petition was signed by Andrew Donnally, John Archer, Daniel Workman, Matthew Arbuckle, John Erwin, William Smith, Andrew Hamilton, Samuel Brown, Alexander Welch, William McClung, James Cain, George Stuart, Jos. Blair, James McFerrin, William Hamilton, Richard Humphries, George Yokam, John Osborn, John Vincy, Michael Keeny, John Anderson, Jacobe Rife Sr., Jacob Rife.

<sup>169</sup> Extract of an act for supplying the army with clothes, provisions, and wagons, Campbell-Preston-Floyd Family Papers, 1741-1931, Microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

<sup>170</sup> Geo. Rice to Col. Davies at Charlottesville, 24 May 1781, in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781*, vol. 2, ed. William P. Palmer (Richmond, VA: James E. Goode, 1881), 118.

<sup>171</sup> Saml Brown to Col. Davies, 27 May 1782, in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from January 1, 1782 to December 31, 1784*, vol. 3, ed. William Pitt Palmer (Richmond, VA: James E. Goode, Printer, 1883), 178.

horses.<sup>172</sup> Even if the county had completed the wagon, it could not have been transported out of the region assembled as a wagon road did not exist any closer than the Warm Springs, so this was another challenge the Assembly addressed.

The Assembly passed “An Act to empower the court of Greenbrier county, to have a Waggon Road openend from their courthouse to the eastern waters.”<sup>173</sup> Prior to this time, anything coming into or going out of Greenbrier had been by packhorse or on foot, and the act noted that Greenbrier’s residents “labour under very great inconveniences for want of a wagon road from their courthouse through the mountains to some place on the eastern waters.”<sup>174</sup> From the “eastern waters,” the road would connect to the wagon road leading to Richmond and the act stated that “such a road would not only be very beneficial and convenient to the said inhabitants, but of great publick utility,” but that residents were willing to pay the expense of surveying and clearing the road.<sup>175</sup> The inhabitants would pay for the road through taxes paid in cash “or clean merchantable hemp” delivered to the Greenbrier County courthouse “according to the price of hemp at Richmond, allowing a deduction for carriage.”<sup>176</sup> Though the road would be a tremendous addition to transportation moving in and out of Greenbrier County, the challenges of implementing the act during war-time were evident the

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<sup>172</sup> Brown to Davies, 27 May 1782, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. 3, 178.

<sup>173</sup> Acts Passed at a General Assembly, 16 October 1780 – 2 January 1781, (Richmond: John Dixon & Thomas Nicolson, 1780), 24. *America’s Historical Imprints* (accessed 21 March 2016).

<sup>174</sup> Acts Passed at a General Assembly, 16 October 1780 – 2 January 1781, 24.

<sup>175</sup> Acts Passed at a General Assembly, 16 October 1780 – 2 January 1781, 24.

<sup>176</sup> Acts Passed at a General Assembly, 16 October 1780 – 2 January 1781, 24.

following year when settlers again petitioned the Assembly, but this time to postpone the road's construction.<sup>177</sup>

In October 1781, Greenbrier inhabitants, living on both the north and south sides of the Greenbrier River, petitioned the Assembly to argue against the construction of the wagon road.<sup>178</sup> The petition was written as two separate statements for the northern and southern regions and signed by inhabitants from the associated area of the Greenbrier Valley. The language was very similar in each version of the petition, and even identical at some points, but there were also slight differences. Settlers on both sides of the Greenbrier River emphasized the “considerable sum of money or crops” required for the creation of the road and the general route across “a tract of country that is Mountainous and much broken” beginning at Camp Union and stretching nearly fifty miles to the east through parts of Botetourt and Augusta counties to the Warm Springs.<sup>179</sup> During these “distressing times” when they were often “obliged to supply the different posts of defence by frequent drafts from our Militia,” the settlers argued that they could hardly “make roads for other counties when at the same time we are undoubtedly inadequate to the expence of making roads within the bounds of our own county.”<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Acts Passed at a General Assembly, 5 November 1781 – 5 January 1782, (Richmond: John Dunlap & James Hayes, 1781), 5, *America's Historical Imprints* (accessed 21 March 2016); Acts Passed at a General Assembly, 21 October – 28 December 1782, (Richmond: John Dunlap & James Hayes, 1781), 5, *America's Historical Imprints e* (accessed 21 March 2016).

<sup>178</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 20 November 1781, LPDC, LVA.. The copy of the petition from the south side was signed by 159 men, including familiar names like Philip Hammond and William Meek, while the northern side had 119 signatures.

<sup>179</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 20 November 1781, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>180</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 20 November 1781, LPDC, LVA.



After these general unified statements, the petitions from the north and south sides of the Greenbrier River emphasized slightly different elements of Greenbrier County's needs and their experiences through the revolutionary era. Settlers on the north side of the river discussed the county's geography "as a barrier stretched along the frontier of this state near one hundred miles from the Northern to the Southern Extremities" and that "it would not be reasonable to suppose that an Infant County[...]like a line drawn along the frontier could possibly be in a condition to bear the expence or to provide such an extravagant sum of money or Hemp" for the creation of a road.<sup>181</sup> They took particular issue with the idea that the road would be useful to the entire county, arguing, "how can it be supposed that the road drawn into the center of a line of inhabitants nearly one hundred miles extended from North to South could possibly be thought to be of the least immediate use to those people[...]inhabiting each end of this county."<sup>182</sup> In the petition from residents living on the south side of the Greenbrier River, settlers noted that the public funds necessary to construct a road across such rough terrain were more than the inhabitants could afford and that even those who had signed the original petition were willing "to acknowledge the unhappy mistake they Inadvertently made by joining with measures so oppressive in this distressing juncture."<sup>183</sup> They concluded by stating that the region would not have any peace "as long as the bloody hand of George of England is

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<sup>181</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 20 November 1781, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>182</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 20 November 1781, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>183</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 20 November 1781, LPDC, LVA.

able to Reach us” and that they had “suffered much by the depredations of the Indians” for many years.<sup>184</sup>

### **Defending New and Old Frontiers**

While threats to Greenbrier County were diminished after the construction of Fort Laurens and shifted toward the northwest, the need for defense was ever-present in Greenbrier into the 1780s. In January 1781, Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson directed thirty-four recruits from Greenbrier to be sent to the Continental Army with another 146 militiamen and officers going to Kentucky for a summer expedition against the Indians.<sup>185</sup> Greenbrier County justices Andrew Donnally, Samuel Brown and Andrew Hamilton responded to Jefferson’s orders, explaining that requiring 180 men “out of a militia scarcely 550 strong lying in a county exposed to the daily inroads of the Indians” caused great concern.<sup>186</sup> This was especially true “at a time when we cannot expect to be reinforced from any of the interior Counties” who would be defending their own communities through the summer months.<sup>187</sup> Greenbrier’s justices asked to delay the orders to furnish recruits to the Continental Army until the men returned from

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<sup>184</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 20 November 1781, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>185</sup> Andrew Donnally, Samuel Brown, and Alexander Hamilton to Thomas Jefferson, 29 January 1781, Governor’s Letters Received Database (1776-1784), Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA. Hereafter, collection cited as GLRD, LVA.

<sup>186</sup> Andrew Donnally, Samuel Brown, and Alexander Hamilton to Thomas Jefferson, 29 January 1781, GLRD, LVA; Although the inability to raise men as ordered was a constant refrain in Greenbrier, Andrew Donnally reported that there were few delinquents to court martial among the militiamen. See Andrew Donnally to Thomas Jefferson, 29 May 1781, GLRD, LVA.

<sup>187</sup> Andrew Donnally, Samuel Brown, and Alexander Hamilton to Thomas Jefferson, 29 January 1781, GLRD, LVA; Although the inability to raise men as ordered was a constant refrain in Greenbrier, Andrew Donnally reported that there were few delinquents to court martial among the militiamen. See Andrew Donnally to Thomas Jefferson, 29 May 1781, GLRD, LVA.

Kentucky, because of the “imminent danger” of having so many men away from their homes.

As further evidence of Greenbrier County’s continued precarious situation, just two months later Andrew Donnally reported an Indian attack to Thomas Jefferson.<sup>188</sup> According to Donnally, a group of Indians attacked the home of William Meek and took Meek and his family captive then burned their house and corn.<sup>189</sup> The attack took place just as a company of militia was rendezvousing nearby for the march to Kentucky, and they, along with some of the neighbors, “pursued the Indians & after a Continued march of near fifty miles they came up with them killed one Indian & wounded several, recovered all the Prisoners & the Plunder.”<sup>190</sup> Meek and his family explained that there were eight Indians and two French Canadians in the group that kidnapped them, and that they were told another group of twelve Indians would join them soon. There was enough concern about a future threat that Greenbrier’s militiamen were dispersed “to defend those stations which are most exposed,” and Donnally sought Jefferson’s instructions on how to continue; however, Jefferson responded simply that he was sorry that the Indians “have begun their Hostilities so early” in the season, that he hoped they would soon be

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<sup>188</sup> Andrew Donnally to Thomas Jefferson, 27 March 1781, GLRD, LVA.

<sup>189</sup> William Meek lived near Culbertson’s Bottom along Indian Creek; The “Reminiscences of Rev. James Haynes” states that Meek, his wife and children, and mother were all taken prisoners on March 3, 1781. See Reminiscences of Rev. James Haynes, in *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1917), 355.

<sup>190</sup> Donnally to Jefferson, 27 March 1781, GLRD, LVA; According to Rev. James Haynes, the Indians were pursued to Paint Creek along the Kanawha River in present-day Fayette County, West Virginia. See Reminiscences of Rev. James Haynes, *Frontier Retreat*, 355.

distracted by events elsewhere in the backcountry, and that he would try to find lead to supply Greenbrier.<sup>191</sup>

With the creation of Greenbrier County, the region along the Kanawha River was firmly within Virginia's domain, but the area near the location of Fort Randolph, remained particularly exposed.<sup>192</sup> The Point Pleasant garrison protected settlers in that area for many years, but when it was disbanded it left the settlers vulnerable to attack and many settlers eventually left the area because of concerns about safety. On October 10, 1781, in the midst of George Washington's siege on the British led by General Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown, the Assembly received a petition from Greenbrier County settlers yet again discussing a garrison at the Mouth of the Elk River, the site of present-day Charleston, West Virginia.<sup>193</sup> When the garrison at Point Pleasant existed, the petitioners "emboldened by the Protection thereof had taken up & settled themselves on sundry Plantations on the Great Kanawa above the said Station," but when the troops withdrew from Fort Randolph, the settlers abandoned the area "thro' fear of the Indians."<sup>194</sup> These settlers noted that withdrawing east was a loss of a barrier along the frontier and that the settlers had lived with hardship for three years "hoping that a Peace might come by which we would be permitted to return to our Habitations with safety."<sup>195</sup> Since peace had not come, they formulated their own plan, which they offered to the

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<sup>191</sup> Donnally to Jefferson, 27 March 1781, GLRD, LVA; Thomas Jefferson to Andrew Donnally, 14 April 1781, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 5, 25 February 1781-20 May 1781, ed. Julian P. Boyd (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952), 444-445.

<sup>192</sup> Greenbrier County Petition to Governor of Virginia, 10 October 1781, GLRD, LVA.

<sup>193</sup> This location was near "Kellys," which had been a potential site for a garrison for many years, but had never come to fruition.

<sup>194</sup> Greenbrier County Petition to Governor of Virginia, 10 October 1781, GLRD, LVA.

<sup>195</sup> Greenbrier County Petition to Governor of Virginia, 10 October 1781, GLRD, LVA.

Assembly. The settlers proposed, as Patrick Henry, William Fleming, and William Preston had previously, that a fort be erected at the mouth of the Elk River “for the Protection of themselves & Families” and requested that a lieutenant and thirty Greenbrier militiamen be stationed there as the benefits of such a post were “so obvious that they need not be mentioned.”<sup>196</sup>

Although Washington and the Americans declared victory and signed surrender terms with the British at Yorktown in October 1781, tensions on the frontier continued. In February 1782, Samuel Brown reiterated many of the concerns Greenbrier settlers expressed a few months earlier when he wrote to Virginia’s new Governor, Benjamin Harrison, to discuss “The Frontier Situation of this County,” which had “hitherto made it necessary to keep some men imbodyed to oppose the Indians during the summer season, which is now approaching and [the] people begin to grow apprehensive of Danger.”<sup>197</sup> Recognizing that Harrison was not familiar with the experiences in Greenbrier County, Brown noted that this was an annual seasonal occurrence and suggested placing twenty men at the mouth of the Elk River on the Kanawha where they would have a greater impact there “right in the Road of the Indians” than fifty placed elsewhere.<sup>198</sup> Echoing concerns expressed in the Greenbrier County petition a few months earlier, Brown noted that he had “been much solicited to emplore your Excellency” to place the men at the Elk River by the settlers who formerly lived there but had been driven from the area at the

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<sup>196</sup> Greenbrier County Petition to Governor of Virginia, 10 October 1781, GLRD, LVA; Although the petition focused on a region along the Kanawha River that was west of the Greenbrier Valley, the signatures were from settlers who lived throughout the county rather than just one region.

<sup>197</sup> Samuel Brown to Governor Benjamin Harrison, 16 February 1782, GLRD, LVA.

<sup>198</sup> Brown to Harrison, 16 February 1782, GLRD, LVA.

beginning of the war.<sup>199</sup> Although Harrison's response and any orders sent with it do not exist, he must have reacted favorably to Brown's letter because by June an outpost "at Kelly's on the Great Kanawha" was included among a list of western garrisons.<sup>200</sup>

By May 1782, descriptions about the state of defense in Greenbrier reached cities as far away as Philadelphia, Hartford, Connecticut, and Boston. These reports from Virginia announced that "all our accounts from the frontiers of this state afford a gloomy prospect; scarcely one of the counties along the Allegany, has not had some of its inhabitants massacred by the Savages; and the inhabitants of the two outer counties, Monongalia and Greenbrier, are all in forts."<sup>201</sup> The details of this situation echoed the experience of Greenbrier settlers after Cornstalk's murder at Point Pleasant in the fall of 1777. Reacting to rumors that Indians attacking the frontier during the summer of 1781 came from the Moravian mission towns, roughly two hundred Pennsylvania militiamen gathered more than ninety Indians, including women and children, at the town of Gnadenhutten, which was roughly twenty miles south of Fort Laurens near present-day Canton, Ohio, and despite the Indians' protestations of innocence, put them to death in March 1782.<sup>202</sup> When Indians throughout the Ohio Valley heard about the massacre,

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<sup>199</sup> Brown to Harrison, 16 February 1782, GLRD, LVA.

<sup>200</sup> Samuel Brown to Governor Benjamin Harrison, 14 April 1782, GLRD, LVA; Summary of proposals of Virginia Council, 8 June 1780, in *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781*, ed. Louise Phelps Kellogg (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1917), 192.

<sup>201</sup> *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia, PA), 21 May 1782, 3; *Freeman's Journal* (Dublin, Ireland), 22 May 1782, 2; *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford, CT), 4 June 1782, 3; *Independent Chronicle* (Boston, MA), 6 June 1782, 3; *Norwich Packet* (Norwich, CT), 6 June 1782, 2.

<sup>202</sup> Griffin, *American Leviathan*, 167; Rob Harper, "Looking the Other Way: The Gnadenhutten Massacre and the Contextual Interpretation of Violence," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, vol. 64, no. 3 (July 2007), 621; Robert G. Parkinson, *The Common Cause: Creating Race and Nation in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 536; Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 265-276.

they sought to avenge the innocent victims of Gnadenhutten, and settlers up and down the Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Virginia frontier, including Greenbrier's inhabitants, fortified up in anticipation of the attacks.<sup>203</sup>

Even as Greenbrier's settlers fortified against the anticipated retaliation for the massacre at Gnadenhutten, Virginia's leaders implemented a draft for service in the Continental Army to defend the backcountry against ongoing violence after Cornwallis' surrender.<sup>204</sup> Historian Michael McDonnell noted that the response to drafts in Virginia in 1782 "marked the beginning of a new kind of resistance" as "collective action" was previously "limited to the muster field," but settlers now "took their grievances directly to the courthouse and court officials."<sup>205</sup> When Samuel Brown and county officers gathered at the courthouse to implement the Continental Army draft, Greenbrier settlers assembled, and Brown reported that they opposed the draft and "would not suffer us to proceed" for which he was "heartily sorry."<sup>206</sup> On the same day as Brown's report, he received news that Indians had killed men on the New River and there was uncertainty about where they would next attack in Greenbrier. Brown explained to Benjamin Harrison that he sent men to bury the dead and search for the others, but if calling out more militia was necessary, he was "at a loss to know how to find them without some money lodged with some person in the County to purchase provisions," as none were

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<sup>203</sup> Historian Robert Parkinson contrasts this experience in the backcountry to other colonies, writing "even though British arms were encamped harmlessly in New York, Savannah, and Charleston, the Revolutionary War continued to rage throughout the backcountry. Blood continued to spill long after Cornwallis's surrender." Parkinson, *The Common Cause*, 544.

<sup>204</sup> Michael A. McDonnell, *The Politics of War: Race, Class, and Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 454-455.

<sup>205</sup> McDonnell, *Politics of War*, 454-455.

<sup>206</sup> Brown to Davies, 14 April 1782, in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. 3, 130.

available on state credit because of the state of Virginia's finances and Continental currency.<sup>207</sup>

Greenbrier was no longer the most western county; in the 1770s it became a springboard for movement further west into Kentucky.<sup>208</sup> Kentucky's existence from 1776 through the early 1780s was precarious and the region was often on the cusp of being abandoned by its settlers in ways similar to the experience of early settlement in Greenbrier.<sup>209</sup> Noting the impact abandoning the region would have on the counties to its east, William Christian wrote that if Kentucky was "no longer a Barrier, Washington, Montgomery and Greenbrier must suffer" because although the those counties had experienced small-scale attacks in recent years, "Kentucky employs the attention of the Bulk of the Shawney Nation" and abandoning it would bring the other counties to the forefront again.<sup>210</sup>

### **A "Town at the Court-house"**

In 1782, Greenbrier residents sought ways to create more infrastructure in their community. In November, a number of Greenbrier County's prominent citizens petitioned the Virginia Assembly to pass an act condemning forty acres of land near the courthouse that was involved in a land dispute, and demonstrated their foresight as they

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<sup>207</sup> Brown to Davies, 14 April 1782, in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. 3, 130.

<sup>208</sup> Otis K. Rice, *Frontier Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 38.

<sup>209</sup> Col. Wm. Christian to Gov. Harrison, 28 September 1782, in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from January 1, 1782 to December 31, 1784*, vol. 3, ed. William Pit Palmer (Richmond, VA: James E. Goode, Printer, 1883), 331.

<sup>210</sup> Christian to Harrison, 28 September 1782, in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. 3, 331; Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775-1850* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 30-31.



simultaneously petitioned to establish a town surrounding Greenbrier's courthouse.<sup>211</sup> In the same month, men like Samuel Brown, Andrew Donnally, John Stuart, and others, who were already deeply involved in county governance, and would soon be further involved as some of the first trustees of the new town, returned to the idea of establishing a road east of Camp Union, from the Savannah to the Warm Springs, with another petition to the Assembly noting that "their present inconvenient situation excludes them from almost every kind of trade."<sup>212</sup> The petitioners argued that a "Common Market Road" would be accessible to the majority of the inhabitants and that the advantage of having a road would reimburse the expense of clearing it within six months.<sup>213</sup>

Later that year the Virginia General Assembly passed an act to establish "a Town by the name of Lewisburg" on the land surrounding the county courthouse (see Figures 44-46).<sup>214</sup> The act appointed a number of trustees for the new town, many of whom were among the signers on the petition, and Thomas Edgar, who served as the town's

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<sup>211</sup> The land dispute was between John McClenachan and Matthew Arbuckle's heirs. After all the months stationed at Fort Randolph and all the years of defending Greenbrier and the Virginia frontier against the Indians, Matthew Arbuckle was killed by a tree that fell on him during a violent storm in 1781. His estate was appraised by William Renick, Hugh Miller, and Samuel Price in October 1781 with his extensive goods and chattels totaling nearly £500; See Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds. *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), fn104; Mathew Arbuckle Estate Appraisal, 18 October 1781, Greenbrier County Records, Off-site Storage, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV; Greenbrier: Petition, 19 November 1782, LPDC, LVA; J.T. McAllister, *Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War* (1913; repr., Westminster, MD, 2006), 33-34.

<sup>212</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 14 November 1782, LPDC, LVA. This petition was signed by 74 settlers including some of the more prominent men like Samuel Brown, Archer Mathews, John Stuart, William Renick, and Andrew Donnally.

<sup>213</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 14 November 1782, LPDC, LVA.

<sup>214</sup> "An act to establish a town at the courthouse in the county of Greenbrier," October 1782, William Waller Hening, ed. *Statutes at Large; being a collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the year 1619*, vol. XI (Richmond: J. & G. Cochran, 1823), 139.

surveyor.<sup>215</sup> Edgar divided the forty-acre town site into sixteen blocks encompassing four half-acre lots separated by streets that were forty-six feet and seven inches wide. The act stated that the lots would be sold at public auction and that those who purchased the lots would be required to build “a dwelling-house twenty feet by sixteen, with a stone or brick chimney, to be finished fit for habitation within four years from the day of sale.”<sup>216</sup> In addition to laying out the town, the trustees also had the power to moderate any disputes about the boundaries of the lots or the construction of the houses. The Assembly further stated that those who purchased the town lots would receive the “rights, privileges, and immunities, which the freeholders and inhabitants of other Towns in this State[...]have and enjoy” ensuring that those who settled in Lewisburg would have the same recognition in county government as freeholders on larger tracts in the county and equality with citizens of any other town in Virginia.<sup>217</sup>

### **Preserving Hearth and Home**

From the creation of Greenbrier County in 1778 to Lewisburg’s founding in 1782, Greenbrier settlers repeatedly demonstrated their connection to place as they prioritized defense of hearth and home above all other objectives. In 1778, the settlers formed a new county, faced large-scale attacks by Native Americans that they believed were in

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<sup>215</sup> The gentlemen trustees were Samuel Lewis, James Reid, Samuel Brown, Andrew Donnally, John Stuart, Archer Mathews, William Ward, and Thomas Edgar. See “An act to establish a town,” October 1782, Hening, *Statutes*, vol. XI, 139; Otis K. Rice, *A History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg: Greenbrier Historical Society, 1986), 114.

<sup>216</sup> “An act to establish a town,” October 1782, Hening, *Statutes*, vol. XI, 139.

<sup>217</sup> “An act to establish a town,” October 1782, Hening, *Statutes*, vol. XI, 140.

retaliation for the murder of Shawnee leader Cornstalk, and were called out by the western commander at Fort Pitt for an expedition against the British at Fort Detroit. Each of these events further emphasized the settlers' connection to place as the resounding response to these events from Greenbrier County citizens was that their homes came first and were worth defending at all costs.<sup>218</sup> It was a necessary legal defense of their homes and land that spurred the petition for Greenbrier County's creation and a profound commitment to physically defend their family and property that enabled them to be "forted up" with their neighbors, work their fields communally, and face the threat of Indian attacks without fleeing east. That same allegiance to physically defend their community emboldened them to constantly challenge the Continental Army officers stationed at Fort Pitt who repeatedly and unsuccessfully tried to recruit men from Greenbrier for expeditions to Detroit.

By the end of 1782, Greenbrier County had many of the elements ascribed to any Virginia county, including a courthouse surrounded by a town, a judicial system through the local county court, tradesmen producing goods for their communities, and developing infrastructure through the construction of roads. Despite these markers of a growing community, the county was still near the western edge of Virginia's settlement and considered a frontier by many, including Sampson Mathews who noted to William Preston in 1782 that "the County of Greenbryer is a frontier" and unable to defend itself

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<sup>218</sup> As discussed in Chapter V, Albert Tillson describes this "localism" throughout the upper Shenandoah Valley throughout the American Revolution. See Albert H. Tillson, Jr., "The Localist Roots of Backcountry Loyalism: An Examination of Popular Political Culture in Virginia's New River Valley," *Journal of Southern History* 54, no. 3 (August 1988), 387.

without assistance.<sup>219</sup> To an outsider, even someone like Sampson Mathews, Greenbrier appeared unsettled, but that did not diminish the citizens' willingness to continually defend this "Infant County," spanning present-day West Virginia, from a variety of foes.<sup>220</sup> The need for county defense would not end in 1782; Greenbrier County experienced Indian attacks throughout the 1780s. However, having survived the challenges and hardships of settlement and warfare over the previous decade, Greenbrier Valley settlers demonstrated that place was significant, that the markers of a city, town, or county did not create place but rather acknowledged what already existed, and that they were willing to risk everything to protect and preserve the place they called home.

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<sup>219</sup> Sampson Mathews to William Preston, 5 May 1782, APA 223, LVA

<sup>220</sup> Inhabitants: Petition, 20 November 1781, LPDC, LVA.

## CHAPTER VII

### EPILOGUE

On June 23, 2016, in the midst of completing this project, the third worst flood in West Virginia history killed twenty-three people and destroyed more than 100 homes.<sup>1</sup> The Greenbrier Valley and specifically the town of White Sulphur Springs, located at Howard's Creek, was one of the hardest hit areas with flash floods from nearly ten inches of rain falling within twenty-four hours causing fifteen deaths. *The Greenbrier* resort is the core of the White Sulphur Springs community and roughly three-quarters of the town's population of 2,500 work there, as did their parents and grandparents. The resort was first developed in the eighteenth century when visitors came to the area to "take the waters" at White Sulphur Springs, and has since served as a retreat for more than two dozen U.S. presidents and other dignitaries, and it was prepared as a fallout shelter for Congress in case of nuclear attack during the Cold War because of its fairly close proximity to Washington, DC.<sup>2</sup>

After the 2016 flood, White Sulphur Springs' former mayor Barbara Wooding, who worked at *The Greenbrier* for fifty-one years, said about the town, "We don't have

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<sup>1</sup> Elaina Plott, "The Billionaire and the Flood: How a Tragedy Transformed the Greenbrier Resort and the Blue-Collar Town that Dependended on It," <https://www.washingtonian.com/2017/05/07/billionaire-flood-tragedy-transformed-greenbrier-resort-blue-collar-town-dependended/> (May 7, 2017).

<sup>2</sup> There are two books that detail the history of White Sulphur Springs, see William Alexander MacCorkle, *The White Sulphur Springs: The Traditions, History, and Social Life of the Greenbrier White Sulphur Springs* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1916); Charlene M. Boyer Lewis, *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society at the Virginia Springs, 1790-1860* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001).

much history because it all goes to *The Greenbrier*” – a sentiment substantiated by the scarcity of historical works on the Greenbrier Valley and Greenbrier County.<sup>3</sup> Whenever the Greenbrier Valley receives attention in scholarship, it is most often discussed in isolation from developments beyond its borders, or it is lumped into a broader “frontier” experience in the Shenandoah Valley, Kentucky, or the Ohio Country. Greenbrier County originally spanned the entire state of present-day West Virginia; however, the region, its development, and even the history of eighteenth-century West Virginia as a whole is often overlooked in favor of nineteenth-century studies on the Civil War, or studies of the coal mining and poverty of twentieth-century Appalachia. While these are all important pieces of West Virginia’s history, the region’s significance in Revolutionary Virginia has been completely ignored.

In the eighteenth-century, Greenbrier identity was based on a connection to “place” – the connection between the “ordinary” rural place and its “extraordinary” interactions. Place is a powerful unifier and, in Greenbrier, it was built on a foundation of geography and shared experiences as Greenbrier settlers. In the Greenbrier Valley, the mutual experiences of settlement, commerce, and warfare was foundational to the creation of a Greenbrier identity as settlers saw themselves as Greenbrier residents first, then Virginians and Americans.<sup>4</sup> The emphasis on place in this study of the Greenbrier

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<sup>3</sup> Plott, “The Billionaire and the Flood”; J. R. Cole, *History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, WV: J. R. Cole, 1917); Ruth Woods Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers and Their Homes* (Charleston, WV: West Virginia Publishing Company, 1942); Otis K. Rice, *A History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, WV: Greenbrier Historical Society, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 2.

Valley and the region that became Greenbrier County during the revolutionary era fits into the current trends of historical scholarship, like the Early American Places series, by emphasizing the ways in which historical developments occurred in a particular community “where people lived, worked, and made sense of their changing worlds.”<sup>5</sup>

In 1782, Sampson Mathews stated that “the County of Greenbryer is a frontier;” however, much had changed since the first settlers arrived in the region three decades earlier.<sup>6</sup> Settlement in the Greenbrier Valley in the 1750s and 1760s meant isolation from eastern communities as part of an ambiguous zone of imperial control on the western edge of Virginia’s settlements. Through much of the 1760s, the region continued to evolve as it was part of imperial discussions about boundary lines and territorial claims, and Greenbrier’s inhabitants often retreated to the east during periods of violence and uncertainty. By 1769, a wave of settlers once again pushed west into the Greenbrier Valley and truly permanent community eventually developed around shared experiences as settlers cemented their bonds to one another and recognized their role as part of Britain’s American colonies in an Atlantic World.

Throughout the years of settlement, from the 1750s through the end of the American Revolution, Greenbrier residents based their identity on a connection to place as they risked their lives to maintain and strengthen their homes and community. During this period, the Greenbrier Valley was also increasingly distinct from other backcountry

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<sup>5</sup> Early American Places, “About,” Early American Places, <http://earlyamericanplaces.org/> (accessed 4 December 2017).

<sup>6</sup> Sampson Mathews to William Preston, 5 May 1782, Auditor of Public Accounts, Defense of Southwestern Virginia, Col. William Preston Papers, 1774-1783. APA 223. Miscellaneous reel 655, Richmond, VA, Library of Virginia.

regions because of the physical geography of separation across the Appalachian Mountains and Greenbrier's unique experiences in settlement and warfare. Although separate from eastern areas, Greenbrier residents' commercial practices and experiences of social exchange at the Mathews-Stuart and Read businesses encouraged their connections to Virginia and a wider Atlantic World. At both Greenbrier businesses, settlers participated in the eighteenth-century consumer revolution, and also socialized, competed, and made purchases that connected traditions past and present, and created a space for demonstrations of skill and prowess as marksmen. Customers' transactions linked them to the consumption of goods throughout the American colonies and their interactions at the Greenbrier businesses strengthened their bonds of community.

Although frontier conflict and violence defined Greenbrier's settlement experience for much of the revolutionary era, it also solidified settlers' connection to place and their determination to stay in the region and defend their homes and land. In the summer of 1774, Lord Dunmore planned an expedition against Native Americans on the Ohio River that culminated with a battle at Point Pleasant. When Dunmore returned to the capital of Williamsburg in December, he wrote about the "emigrating Spirit" of Americans and stated that backcountry Virginians had "no attachment to place" and that "wandering about Seems engrafted in their Nature."<sup>7</sup> Dunmore clearly did not recognize the settlers' connection to their land or understand that the communal bonds and identity Greenbrier settlers embraced had formed over nearly two decades of shared experiences.

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<sup>7</sup> Lord Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, 24 December 1774, in *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*, eds. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg (1905; repr., London: Forgotten Books, 2012), 371.



These experiences, especially the hardships associated with settlement further strengthened Greenbrier communities and settlers' connection to place. While Lord Dunmore's War was a pivotal moment for the Greenbrier Valley, the beginning of the American Revolution created new challenges for its residents as orders from Continental Army officers, Virginia's leaders, and the need for regional defense often pulled Greenbrier settlers in different directions. Despite the challenges of military service, Greenbrier settlers consistently sought to protect and preserve their homes, communities, and county ahead of any other cause.

In 1782, establishing the town of Lewisburg, named after Andrew Lewis because of his contributions to the region's development, near the courthouse, began a new period of history for the Greenbrier community and Greenbrier County as traveling to "town" no longer meant a seventy or nearly 120 mile journey to Fincastle or Staunton in the Shenandoah Valley. Lewisburg was established near the site of Camp Union, which had been the rendezvous point for backcountry militiamen prior to their expedition to Point Pleasant in 1774 and the primary garrison for Greenbrier militia throughout the American Revolution, and was also near the site where local tradition identified John Stuart and Sampson and George Mathews' store.<sup>8</sup>

Greenbrier County experienced occasional Indian attacks through the 1780s, but as was typical in the region throughout the revolutionary era, the residents' greatest concern was to protect their homes and land holdings. By 1787, after the Revolution,

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<sup>8</sup> Christopher Hendricks described the trend in towns growing up around areas that served as supply depots or forts during the war. See Christopher E. Hendricks, *The Backcountry Towns of Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 50, 139.

land holdings seemed to be threatened by Virginia's government who sided with land speculators claiming western territories in Greenbrier County, and raised taxes.<sup>9</sup> At the county court's May meeting, 150 residents signed a statement that they were victims of "Great oppressions" and would not pay the new tax on workers, property, or activities like tavern-keeping, which was an attempt to pay off Virginia's wartime debt.<sup>10</sup> These citizens swore that they would stand united to prevent their property from being taken as payment for debt or taxes, and rumors implied that they would prevent the next court session from taking place if necessary. While Greenbrier's sheriff attempted to extinguish murmurs of rebellion, Virginia's legislators in Richmond, believing settlers would resort to violence if needed, voted to repeal the tax.<sup>11</sup>

As the United States expanded its territorial claims after the American Revolution, the Virginia backcountry and Greenbrier County, were reordered as a "forecountry" for westward expansion.<sup>12</sup> Although Greenbrier County's position on the edge of western settlement during the revolutionary era was relatively brief, the landscape of rural farms and small towns that settlers developed throughout the region

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<sup>9</sup> Woody Holton, *Unruly Americans and the Origins of the Constitution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 11.

<sup>10</sup> Holton, *Unruly Americans*, 11.

<sup>11</sup> Holton, *Unruly Americans*, 12.

<sup>12</sup> For a more in-depth examination of the backcountry as a gateway to "the West" and eventually the "forecountry" for western settlement. See Warren R. Hofstra. "The Virginia Backcountry in the Eighteenth Century: The Question of Origins and the Issue of Outcomes," in "In This Land of Wild Adventure": Virginians in the Backcountry and Beyond," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 101, no. 4 (October 1993), 485; Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

became part of a “quintessentially American landscape,” stretching from Pennsylvania through the western Carolinas.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Warren R. Hofstra and Robert D. Mitchell, “Town and Country in Backcountry Virginia: Winchester and the Shenandoah Valley, 1730-1800,” *Journal of Southern History* 59, no. 4 (November 1993): 619-646.

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## APPENDIX A

### FIGURES

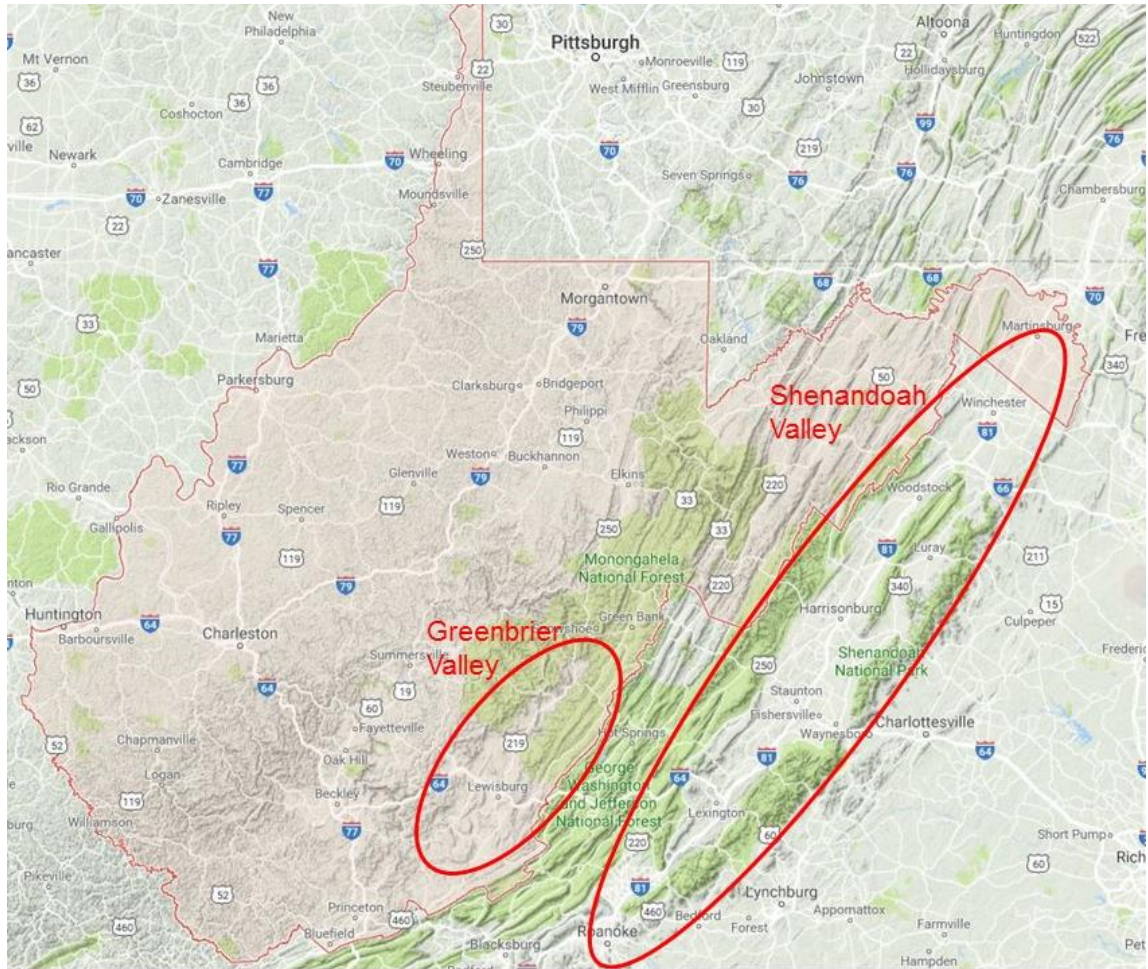


Figure 1. Map highlighting Present-day West Virginia, the Greenbrier Valley, and the Shenandoah Valley.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.

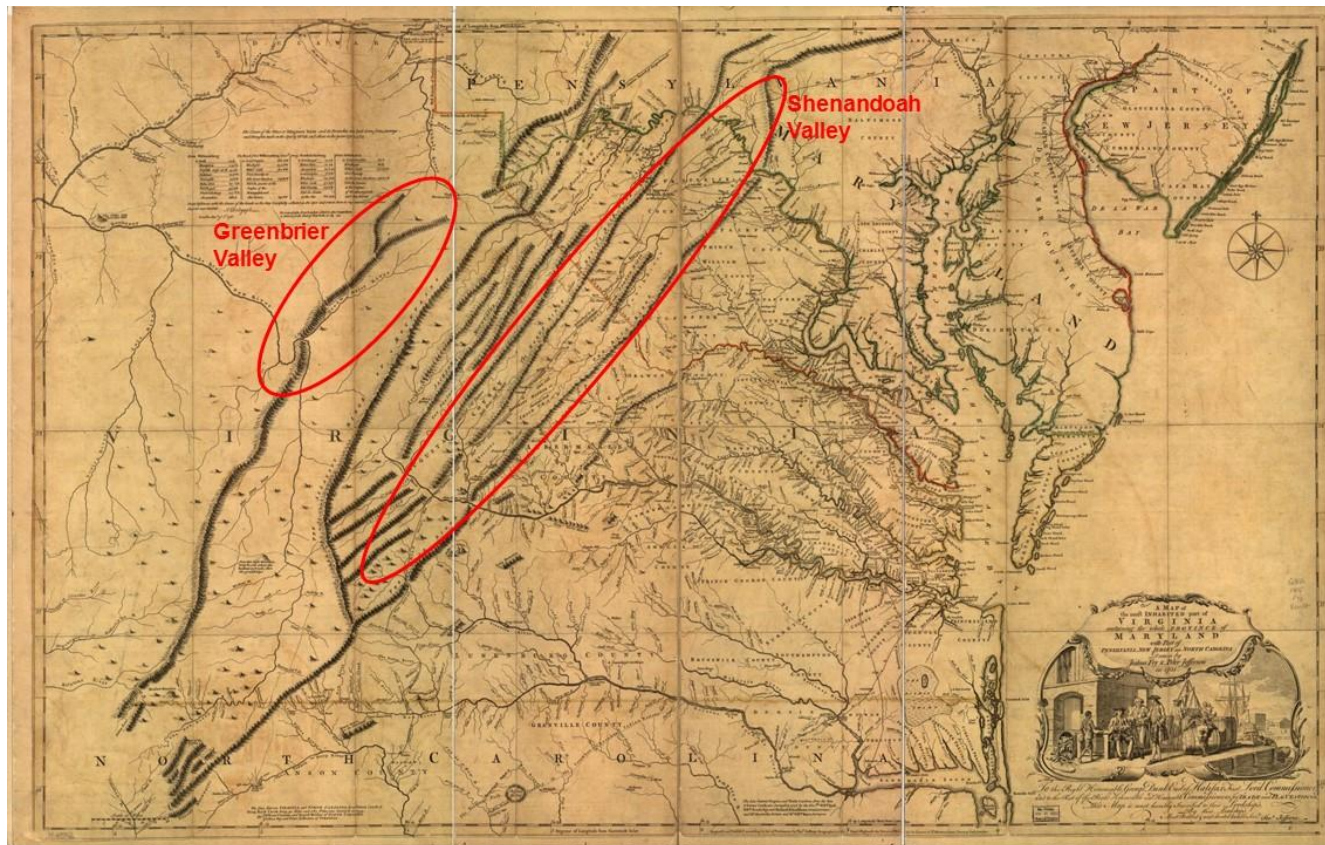


Figure 2. Fry-Jefferson Map (1751) identifying the Greenbrier Valley and Shenandoah Valley.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Joshua Fry, Peter Jefferson, and Thomas Jefferys, *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina*, 1751 (London, Thos. Jefferys, 1755), Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/74693166/> (Accessed 1 December 2017).





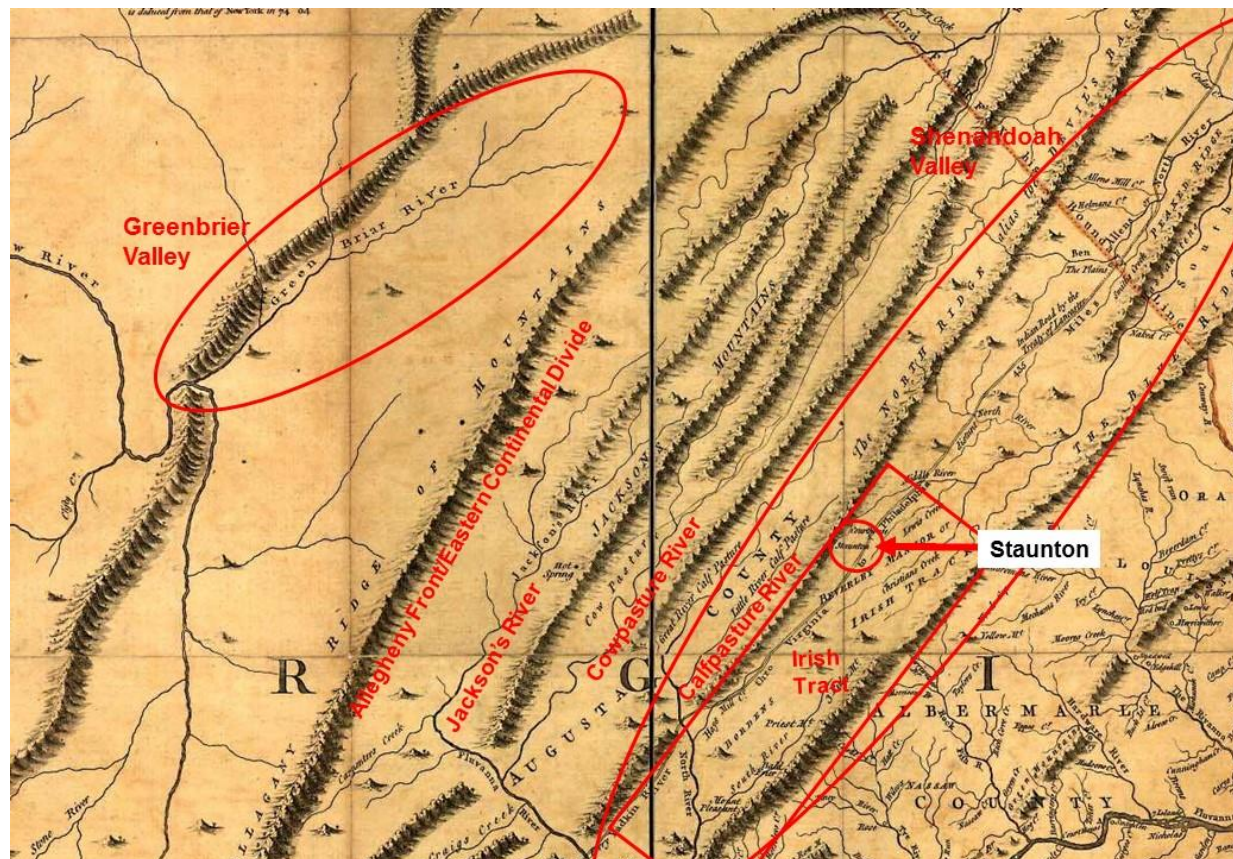


Figure 4. Fry-Jefferson Map (1751) Close-up identifying the Greenbrier and Shenandoah Valleys, the Allegheny Front/Eastern Continental Divide, Jackson's, Cowpasture, and Calfpasture Rivers, the Irish Tract, and the Town of Staunton.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Fry, Jefferson, and Jefferys, 1751.



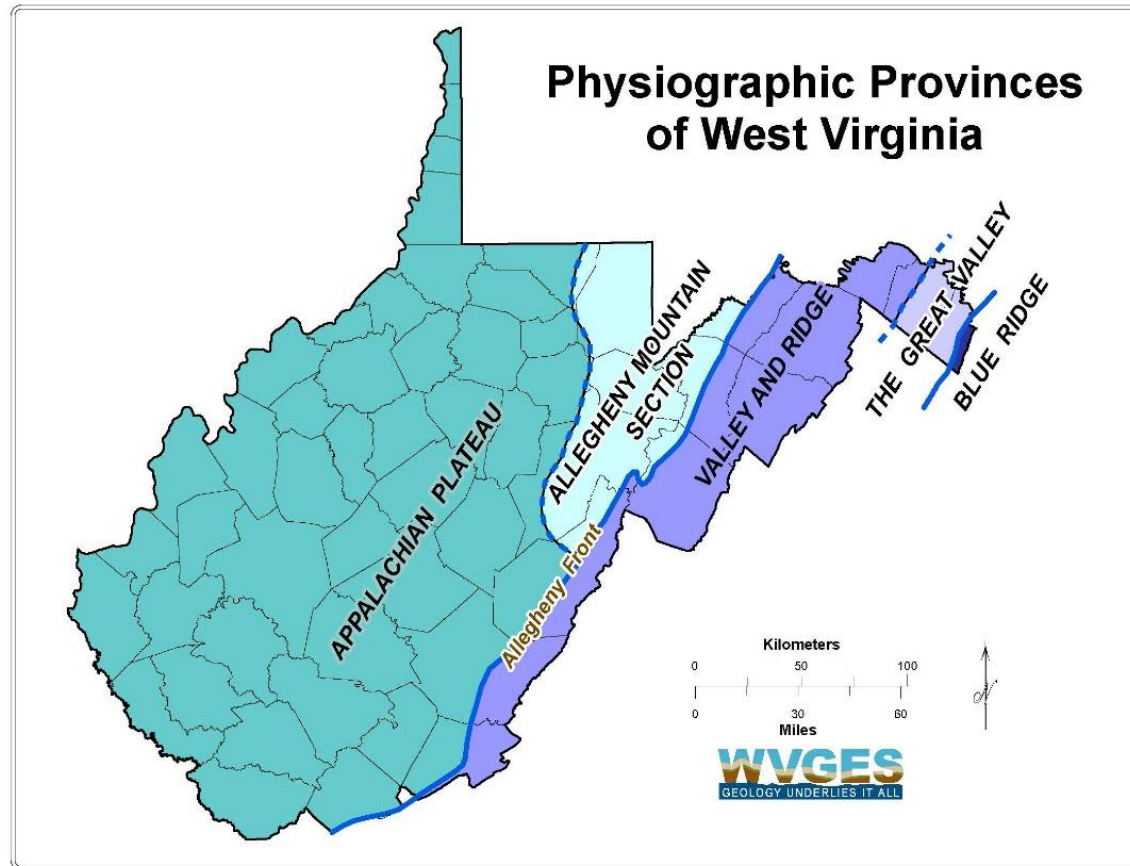


Figure 5. Map of the Physiographic Provinces of West Virginia.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Physiographic Provinces of West Virginia*, West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, <http://www.wvgs.wvnet.edu/www/maps/maps.htm> (Accessed 5 December 2017).

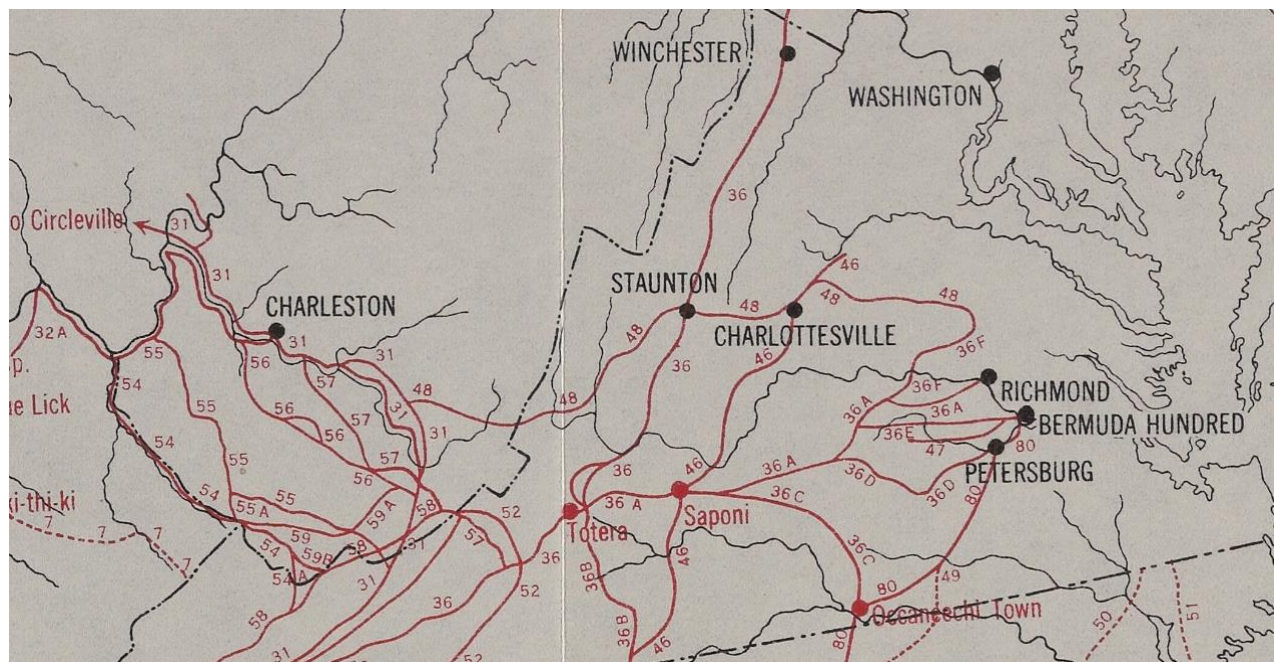


Figure 6. William E. Myer Map Close-up of Southeastern Indian Trails.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Trail #48 goes west from Staunton, crosses the Greenbrier River, and joins #31 as part of the Ohio Branch of the "Great Indian Warpath." See William E. Myer, "Indian Trails of the Southeast" in *Forty-Second Annual Report of the bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1928), 753.



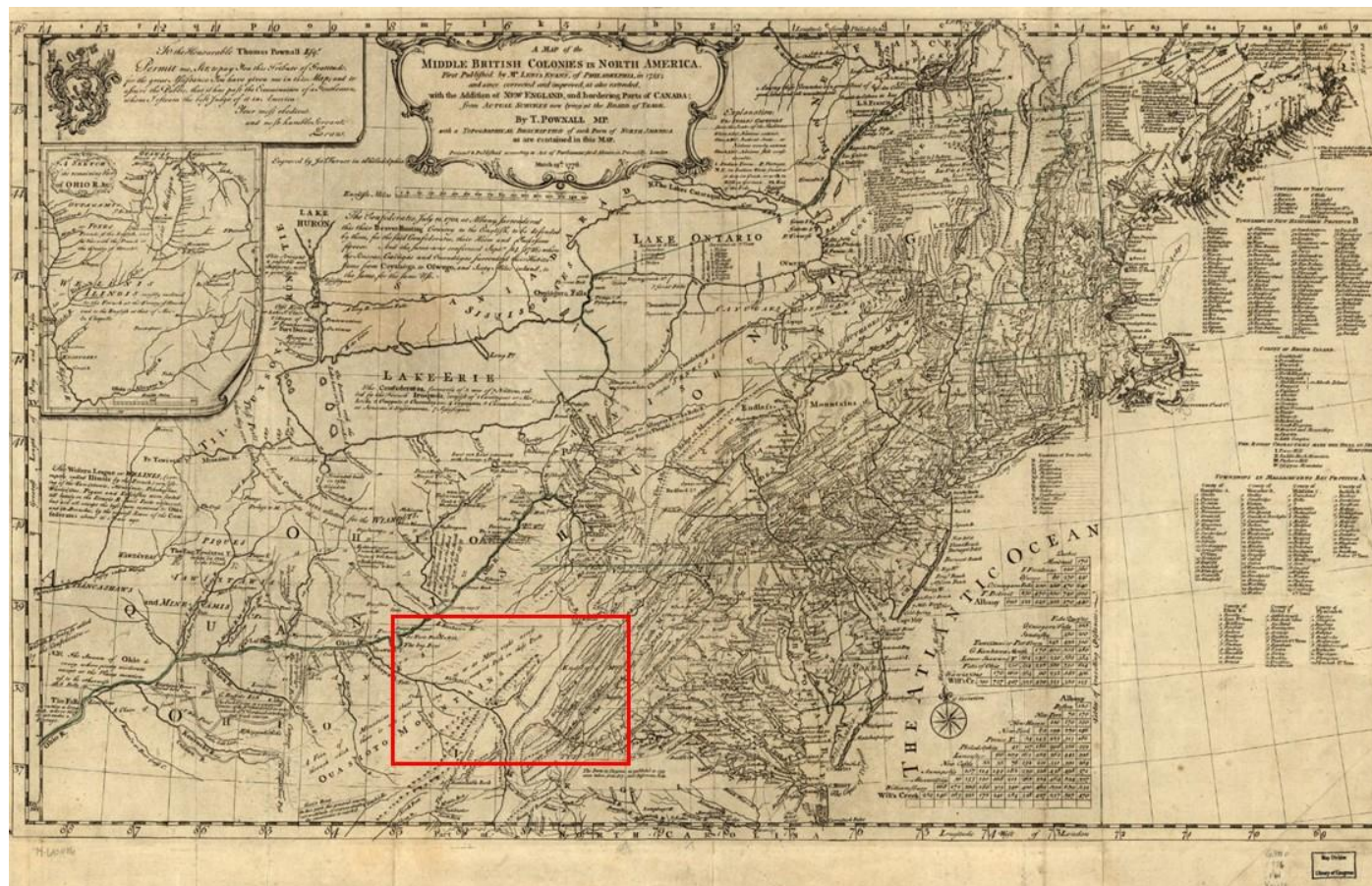


Figure 7. Lewis Evans Map (1755).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Lewis Evans, James Turner, Robert Dodsley, and Thomas Pownall, *A general map of the middle British colonies, in America*, 1755 (Philadelphia), Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71005449/> (Accessed 1 December 2017).

<sup>8</sup> “J.Keens” was along the Greenbrier River and was identified as one of “the 2 farthest settlements in Virginia in 1755.” See Evans, Turner, Dodsley, and Pownall, 1755.



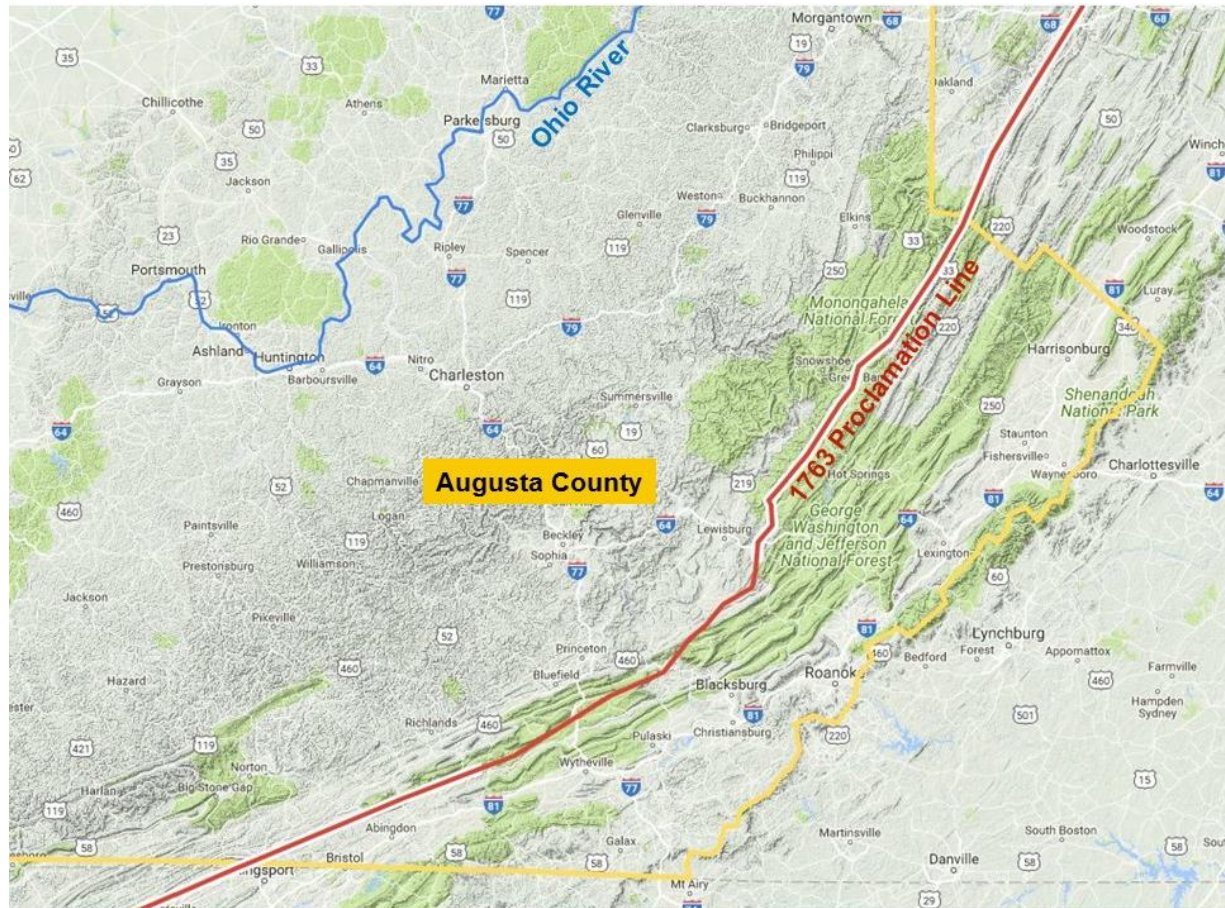


Figure 9. Map of the Eastern Continental Divide/1763 Proclamation Line and Augusta County (1745-1769).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.

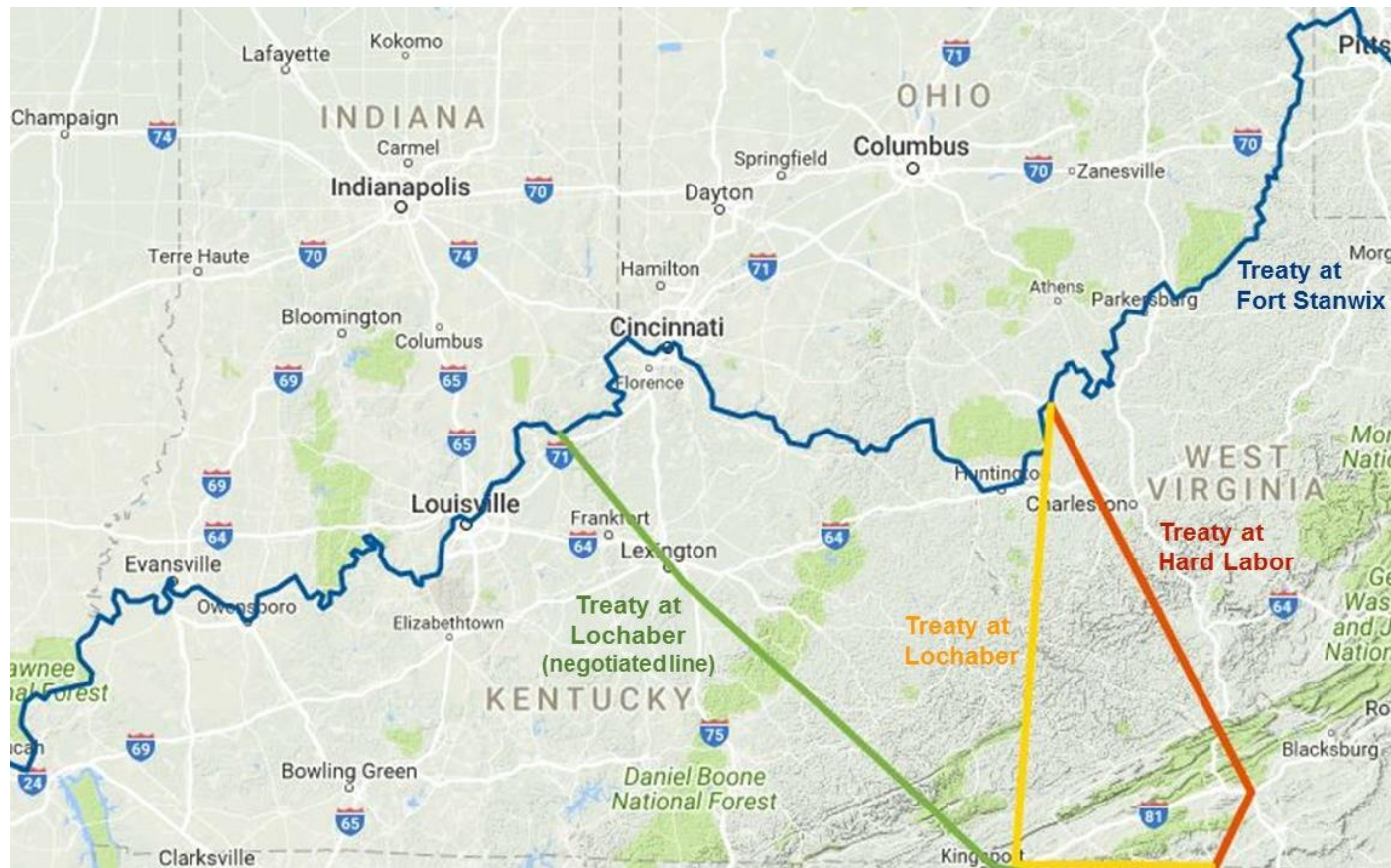


Figure 10. Map of Treaty Lines.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The Treaty Lines and dates are: Fort Stanwix (1768), Hard Labor (1768), Lochaber (1770), and Lochaber, actual line (1771); Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.



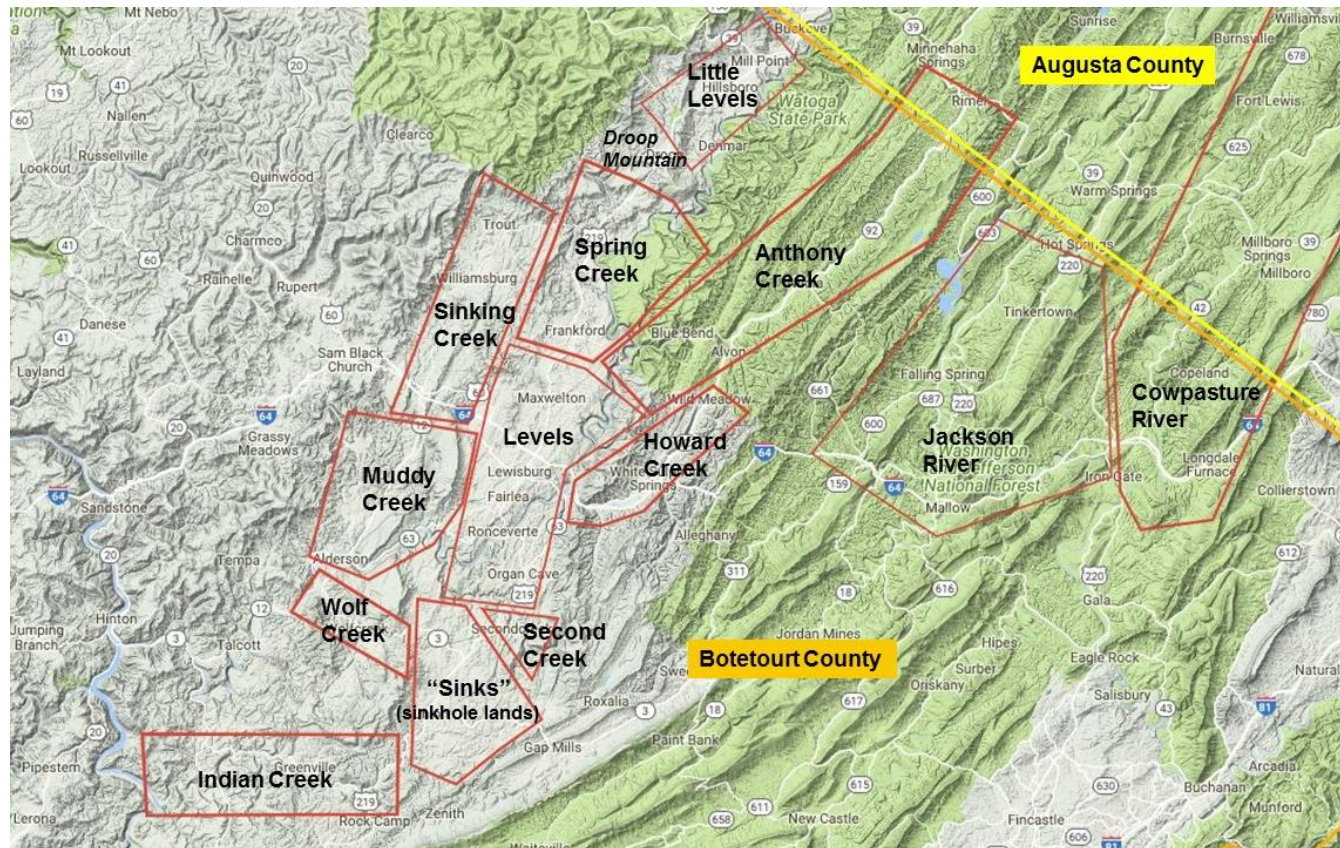


Figure 11. Map of Greenbrier Valley Neighborhoods.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.

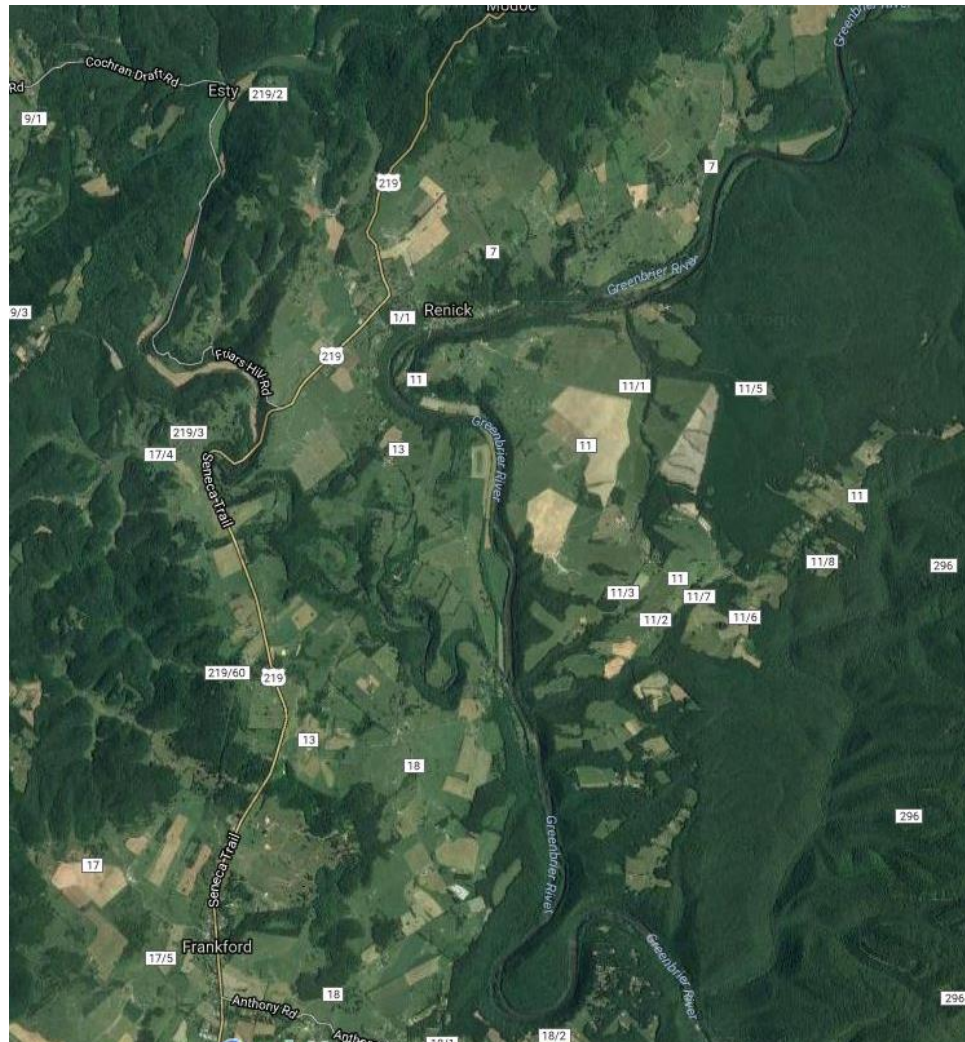


Figure 12. Map of the Spring Creek Area of the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps.



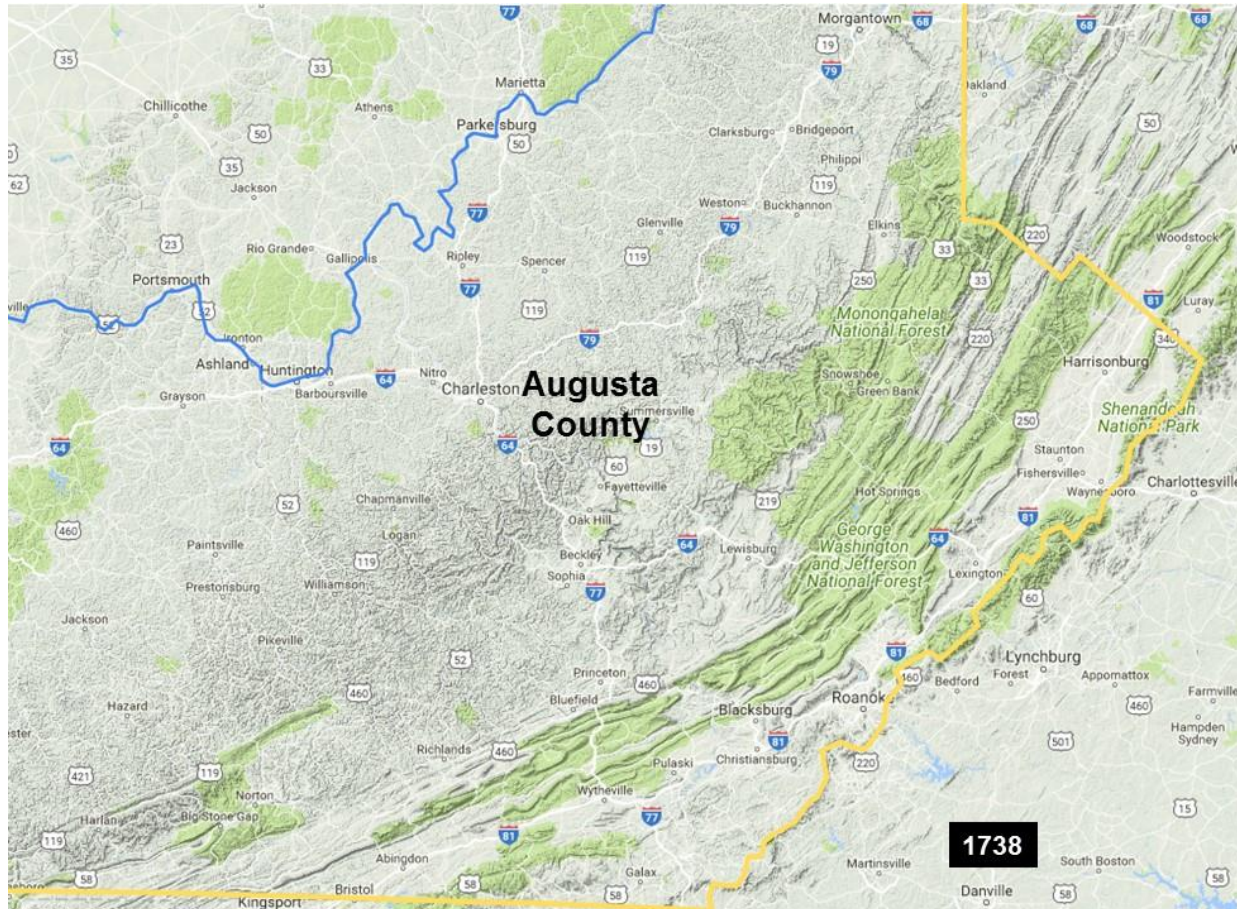


Figure 13. Map of Augusta County (Formed in 1738).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.

Figure 14. Map of Botetourt County (Formed out of Augusta County in 1769).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.



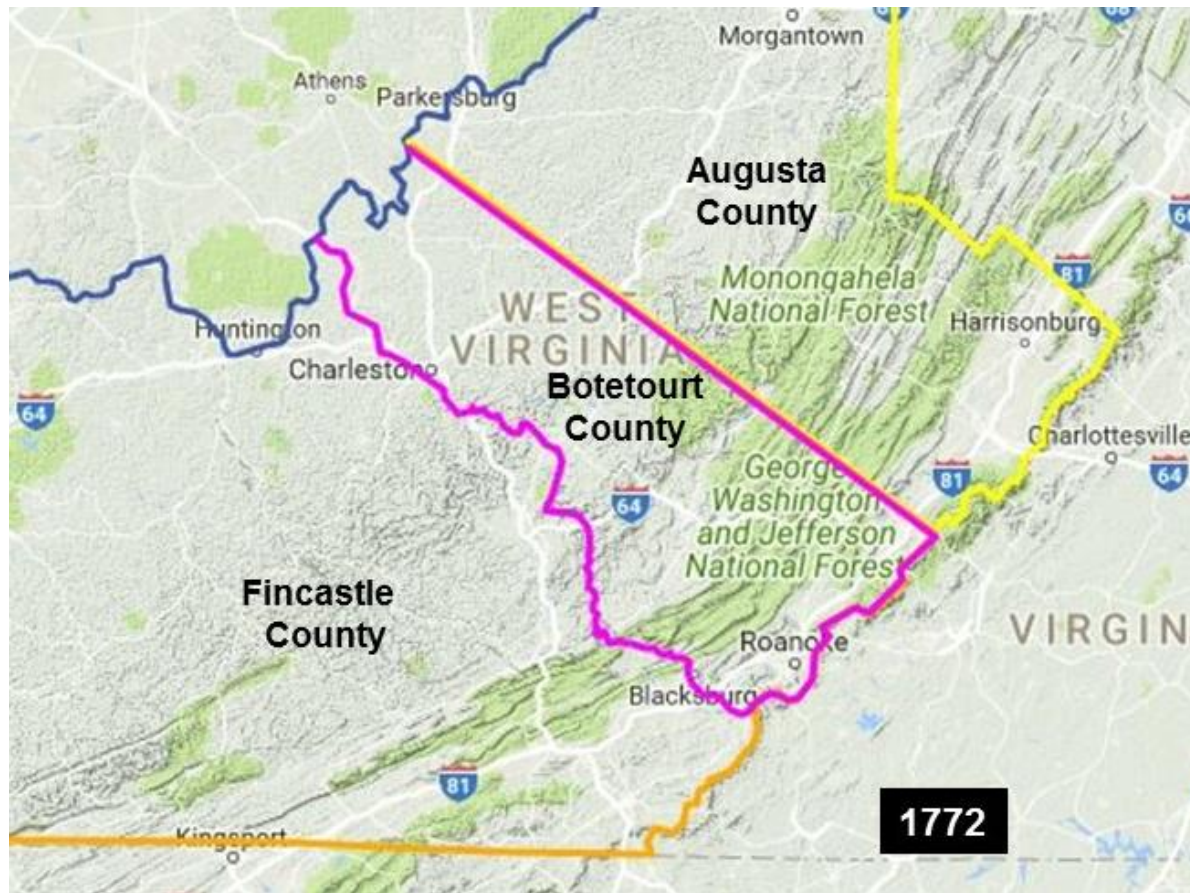


Figure 15. Map of Fincastle County (Formed out of Botetourt County in 1772).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.

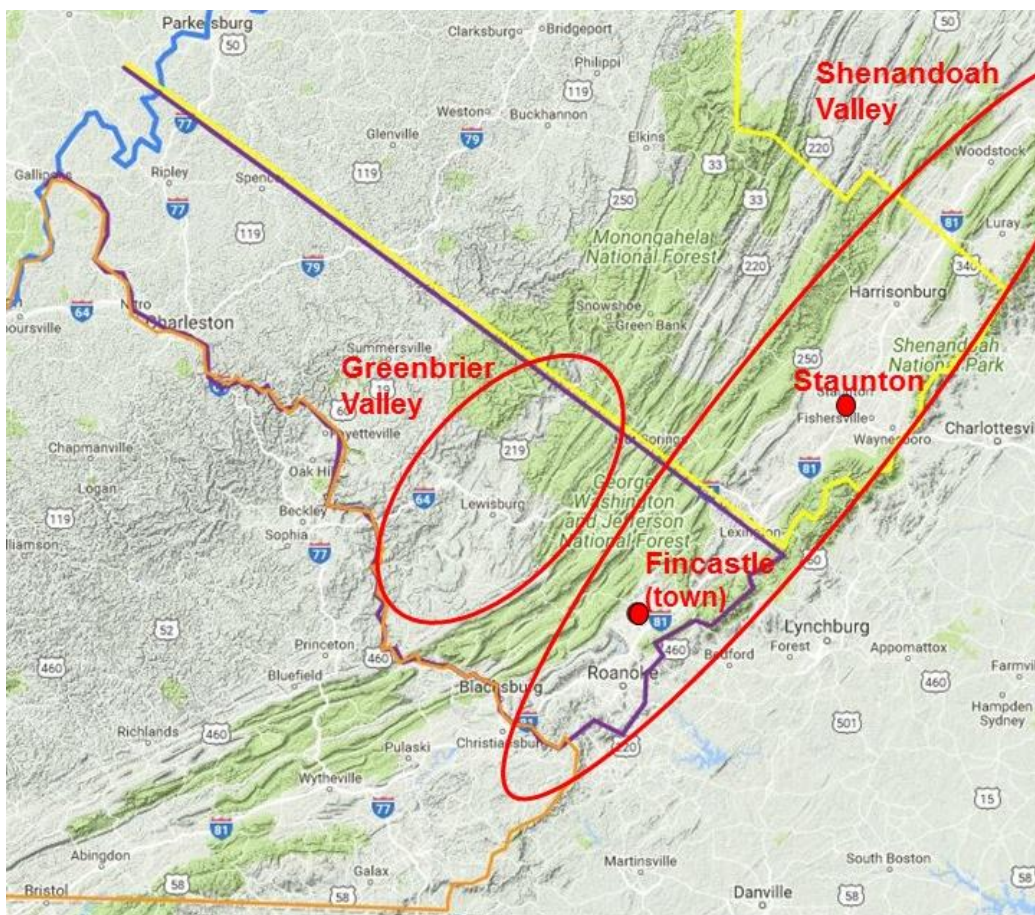


Figure 16. Map of the Towns of Staunton and Fincastle.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Staunton was established as the seat of Augusta County in 1745. Fincastle was established as the seat of Botetourt County in 1772. Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.





Jerry Carpenter			Dr
1771	May 10	To Mr. Moore Drutt 1/4 y 20 <sup>th</sup> Feb 76	1 7 1/2
			5 2 1/2
July 26	To Sunday 3/1 to 3 <sup>rd</sup> 2/14		
Aug <sup>r</sup> 26	To Sunday 9/9 y 20 <sup>th</sup> Sund 10/1		1 7 9
Oct <sup>r</sup> 11	To Ryd <sup>r</sup> Hibb <sup>s</sup> 2/6 y 12 <sup>th</sup> Sund 10/10		1 1 1/4
	14 To Sund <sup>r</sup> 30/1 y 15 <sup>th</sup> Sund <sup>r</sup> 3/1 Hibb <sup>s</sup> 3/1		2 3 -
	16 To Sund <sup>r</sup> 3/1 To 1 silk hand 7/6 Nov 13 <sup>th</sup> Sund 8/1		1 0 6
Dec <sup>r</sup> 16	To Corn 4 y 7 <sup>th</sup> Sund 35/9		1 16 1
	7 To 3 <sup>rd</sup> Lead 2/3 y 14 <sup>th</sup> Brum 9		3
	17 To 2 Dyets 1/3 To Ball <sup>r</sup> Duon m <sup>r</sup> Mathews		3 9 5
			<u>11 7 11</u>
1772	Jan <sup>y</sup> 4	To Ball <sup>r</sup> Due at Settlement	1 13 3

Figure 18. Image of Ledger Account for Jerry Carpenter (Debit-side).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> This account shows the debit (purchase) side of Jerry Carpenter's account. Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784.

	Contra	Cr
1771		
May 10	By James Craighorn	10
Sept. 7	By 4 Deerstins	17
23	By 1 Deerstirn	3 2
	By 1 Deerstirn	3 9
Oct. 7	By 2 Deerstirns	11 6
16	By John Stuart & Dan Workman	5
Dec. 30	By 20 Deerstins	7 1 3
1772		
Jan. 4	By William Gilkison	2 4
	By Bal. Due at Settlement & put to Debit	1 13 3
		<u>11 7 11</u>
June 19	By 1 Deerstirn & 1 Deerstirn	4 4
Sept. 15	By 9 Deerstirns	1 13 10

Figure 19. Image of Ledger Account for Jerry Carpenter (Credit-side).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> This account shows the credit (payment) side of Jerry Carpenter's account. Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784.

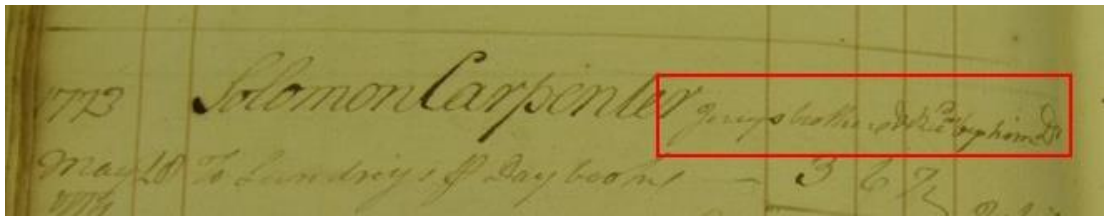


Figure 20. Image of Ledger Account for Solomon Carpenter.<sup>20</sup>

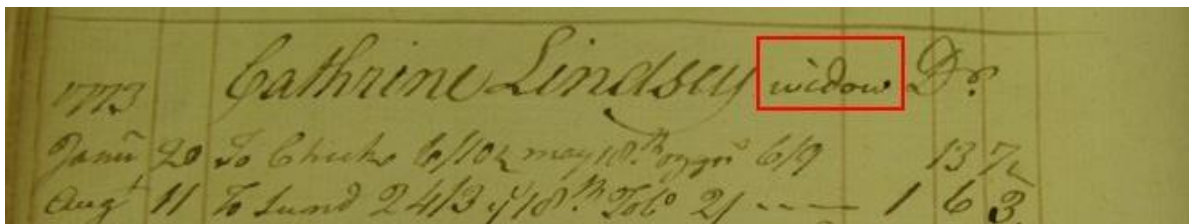


Figure 21. Image of Ledger Account for Cathrine Lindsey.<sup>21</sup>

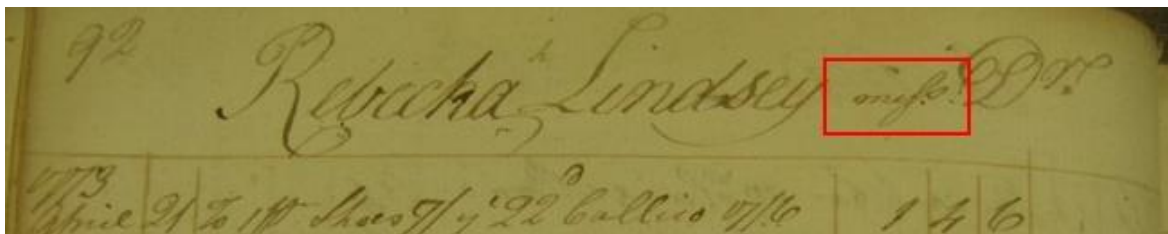


Figure 22. Image of Ledger Account for Rebeckah Lindsey.<sup>22</sup>

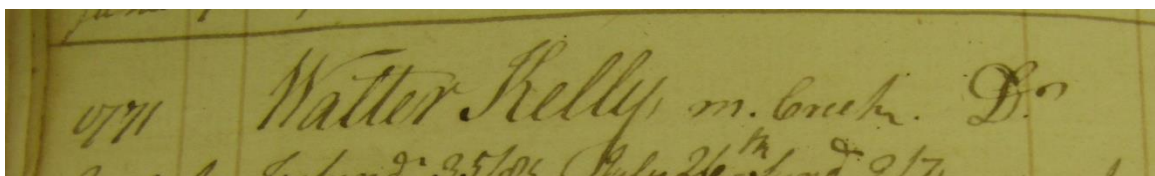


Figure 23. Image of Ledger Account for Walter Kelly.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The margin note states "Jerry's brother, [Recommended] by him." See Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784.

<sup>21</sup> The margin note states "widow." See Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784.

<sup>22</sup> The margin note states "miss." See Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784.

<sup>23</sup> The margin note states "M. Creek" (Muddy Creek). See Mathews Ledger, 1771-1784.



July 26 1770	
John Clark C.	
My Stephen Thompson bond	9.2
Prob. Dues &	
To cash	6
To 2 sides before this date	2
Aug 13 1770	
John M. G. & John Wilson D.	
To into my name at	4 1/2
To pay cash in full	31 1/4
Aug 21 1770	
My Carpenter C.	
My cash in full	1
Wm. Lingo C.	
My an order for 100 lbs of salt	6
Joseph M. G. & John Wilson D.	
To unwear 17 1/2	3 19 6
To 2 1/2 yd. Linnen D.	2 1/2 1 13 9
John Gilson C.	
My cash in full	5
Sept 2	
Wm. Callison C.	
My cash in full	
Wm. Callison C.	
My cash in full	
The Estate of Stephen M. C.	
My cash of Wm. Callison	27
Joseph L. L. C.	
My 4 head of cattle before this date	10
To cash	7 1/4
David Rodgers C.	
My cash in full	1 19 1/2
Oct 9 1770	
Col. Lammie C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash paid for 2 horses	100
To paid of the cattle of my purchase	207 1/2
To cash at sundry times	411 1/2
Sept 9 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 10 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 11 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 12 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 13 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 14 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 15 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 16 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 17 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 18 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 19 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 20 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 21 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 22 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 23 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 24 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 25 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 26 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 27 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 28 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 29 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2
Sept 30 1770	
John D. C.	
To cash to pay for the cattle	24
To cash to pay for the cattle	100
To cash to pay for the cattle	207 1/2
To cash to pay for the cattle	411 1/2

Figure 24. Image of Daybook Page.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Sampson and George Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV. 443

Aug 2 1777

<p> <i>Mat. Dew &amp;</i>  <i>To p James Progg for a horse &amp;</i>  <i>man's your part -</i> </p>	<p> <i>6</i> </p>
<p> <i>Mr. Thunix &amp;</i>  <i>To Int. on your acc</i> </p>	<p> <i>6</i> </p>
<p> <i>To My cash in full</i> </p>	<p> <i>6 16 10</i> </p>
<p> <i>Lawrence Murphy &amp;</i>  <i>To Int. on your acc</i> </p>	<p> <i>9</i> </p>
<p> <i>To My cash in full</i> </p>	<p> <i>3 4</i> </p>

Figure 25. Image of Daybook Page, Close-up.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782.

I Daniel Warner do promise to pay Mr. Sampson & George Mathews & John Stuart  
 their heirs or assigns the just & full sum of four pounds & two pence  
 Half penny — — — — — Current money of Virginia on Demand for Value  
 Recd of them to the which payment well & truly to be made I do bind myself  
 my heirs & assigns in the penal sum of eight pounds & five pence  
 — — — — — Like money In witness whereof I have hereunto  
 Set my hand & Seal this 12<sup>th</sup> Day of Oct<sup>r</sup> 1775  
 Test { John Sention Daniel Warner  
 mark

Figure 26. Image of Promissory Note from Daniel Warner to Sampson and George Mathews and John Stuart.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> This payment matches an entry in the ledger. Daniel Warner Promissory Note, 12 October, 1775, Greenbrier County Courthouse Records, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.



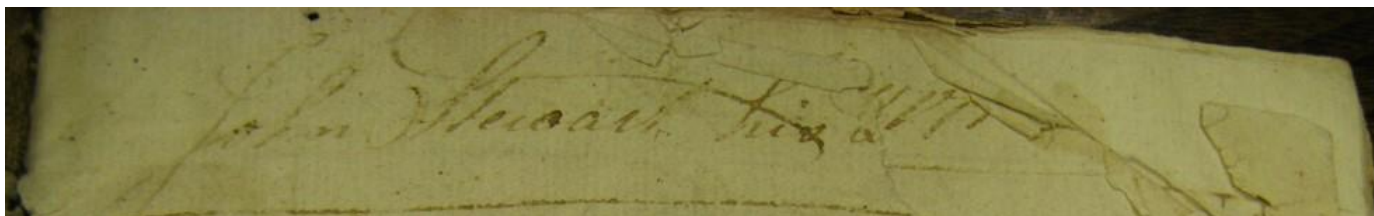


Figure 27. Image of the Heading for “John Stewart his[...]” in the Daybook.<sup>27</sup>

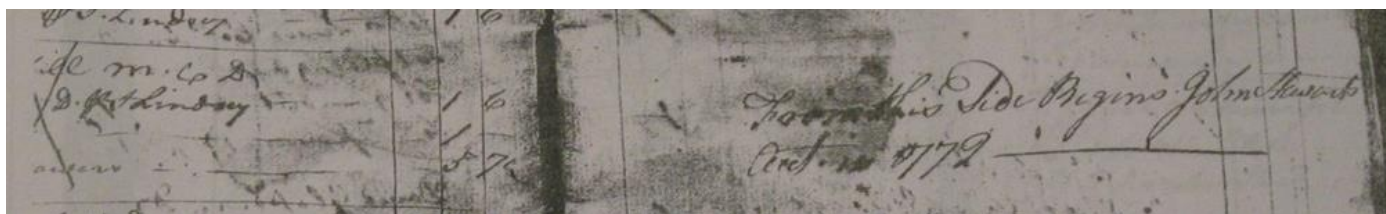


Figure 28. Image of the Notation “From this side begins John Stewart’s Acct. in 1772” in the Daybook.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Mathews Daybook, 1771-1782.

<sup>28</sup> Sampson and George Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.



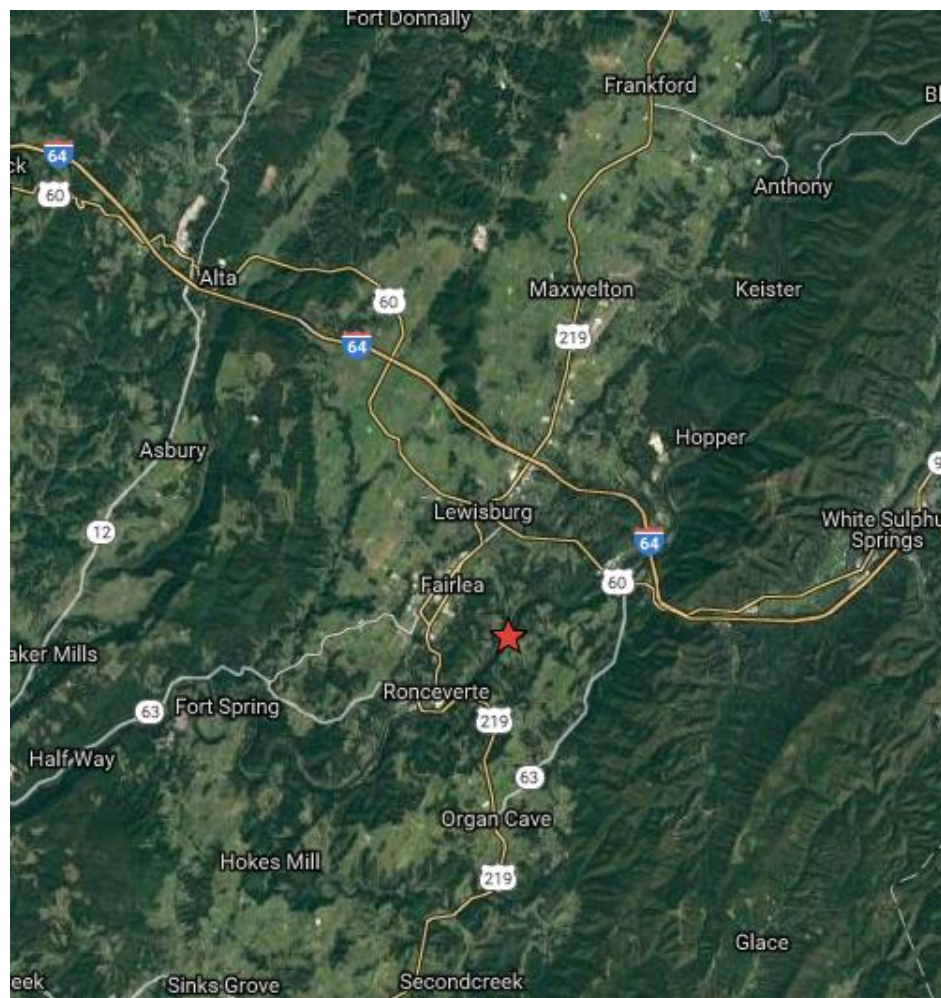


Figure 29. Map of the Location of the “Mathews Trading Post” in the Greenbrier Valley.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> This location is according to local tradition. Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps.



Figure 30. Map Close-up of the Location of the “Mathews Trading Post.”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Local tradition identifies the location of the “Mathews Trading Post” near present-day Lewisburg, Fairlea, and Ronceverte, West Virginia. Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps.





Figure 31. Photograph of the Location of the “Mathews Trading Post.”<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The location of the “Mathews Trading Post” here along the Greenbrier River is according to local tradition. Photograph taken by Sarah McCartney.

James Pauley &	
To 1/2 of Linsey	57
To 1/4 of flannel	19
To 1 blanket	99
To 1 Ramnaith Linen	3
To 1 Cuttace knife	16
To 1 <u>Brick</u> Cut more	102
To 1/2 of garters	4
To 1/2 of garters for Alshurst	1
	17

Figure 32. James Pauley's Daybook Entry for Breechclout.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Pauley is also spelled "Pally." Sampson and George Mathews Daybook (copy), 1771-1773, Greenbrier Historical Society, Lewisburg, WV.





Figure 33. Watercolor of “Soldiers in Uniform.”<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The second figure from the right is wearing a fringed hunting shirt. Jean Baptiste Antoine de Verger, “Soldiers in Uniform, 1781-1784,” in *Journal des faits les plus importants, arrivés aux troupes françaises aux ordres de Mr. Le Comte de Rochambeau, ca. 1781-(1784)*, Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island.



Figure 34. Watercolor of a Native American Man.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The Native American man is wearing a breechclout and leggings. George Townshend, 4<sup>th</sup> Viscount and 1<sup>st</sup> Marquess Townshend, "An Indian War chief completely equipped with a scalp in his hand," pen and ink and watercolor, 1751-1758, © National Portrait Gallery, London.



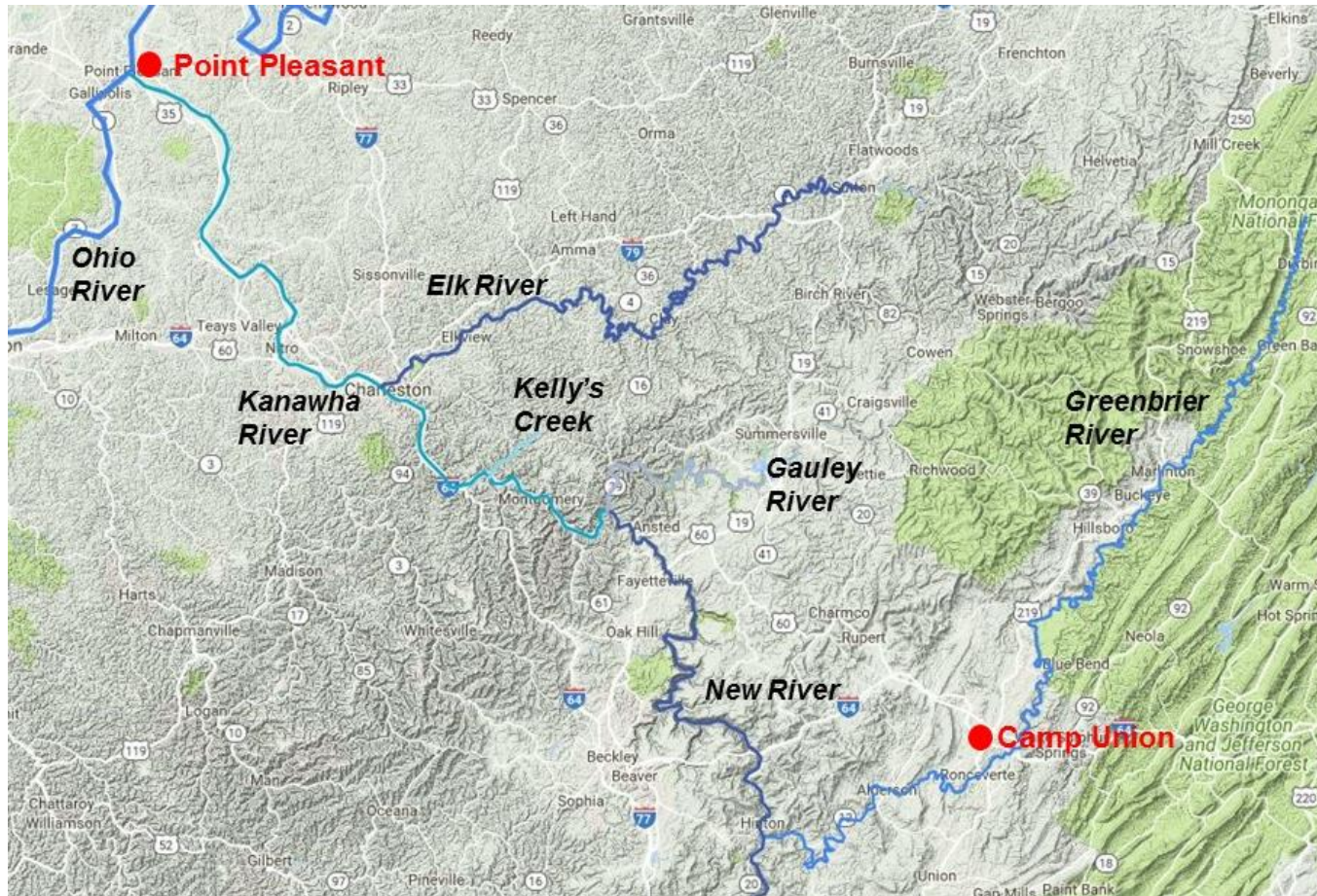


Figure 35. Map of Camp Union, Point Pleasant, and Rivers.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.



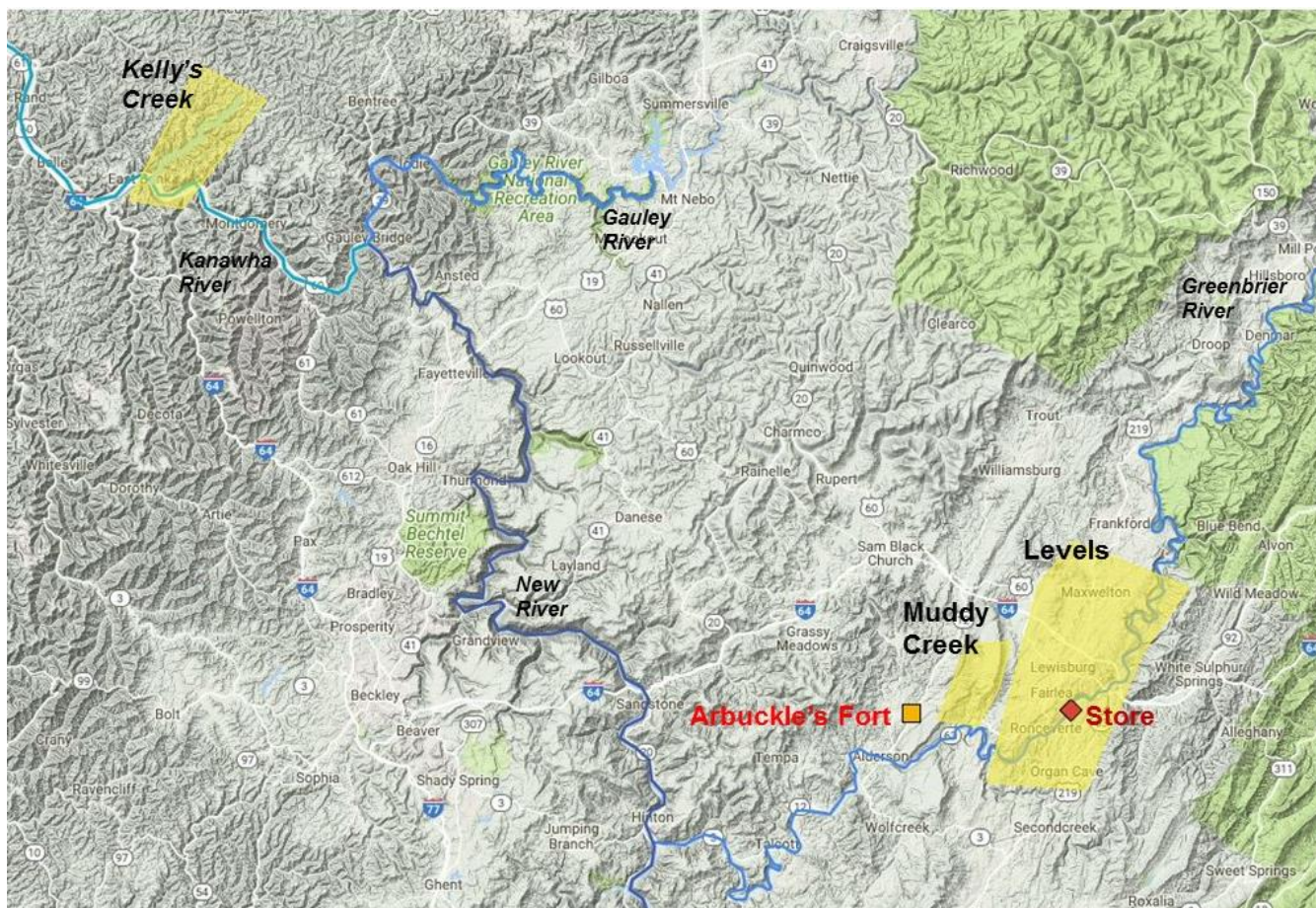


Figure 36. Map of Locations associated with Walter Kelly.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.



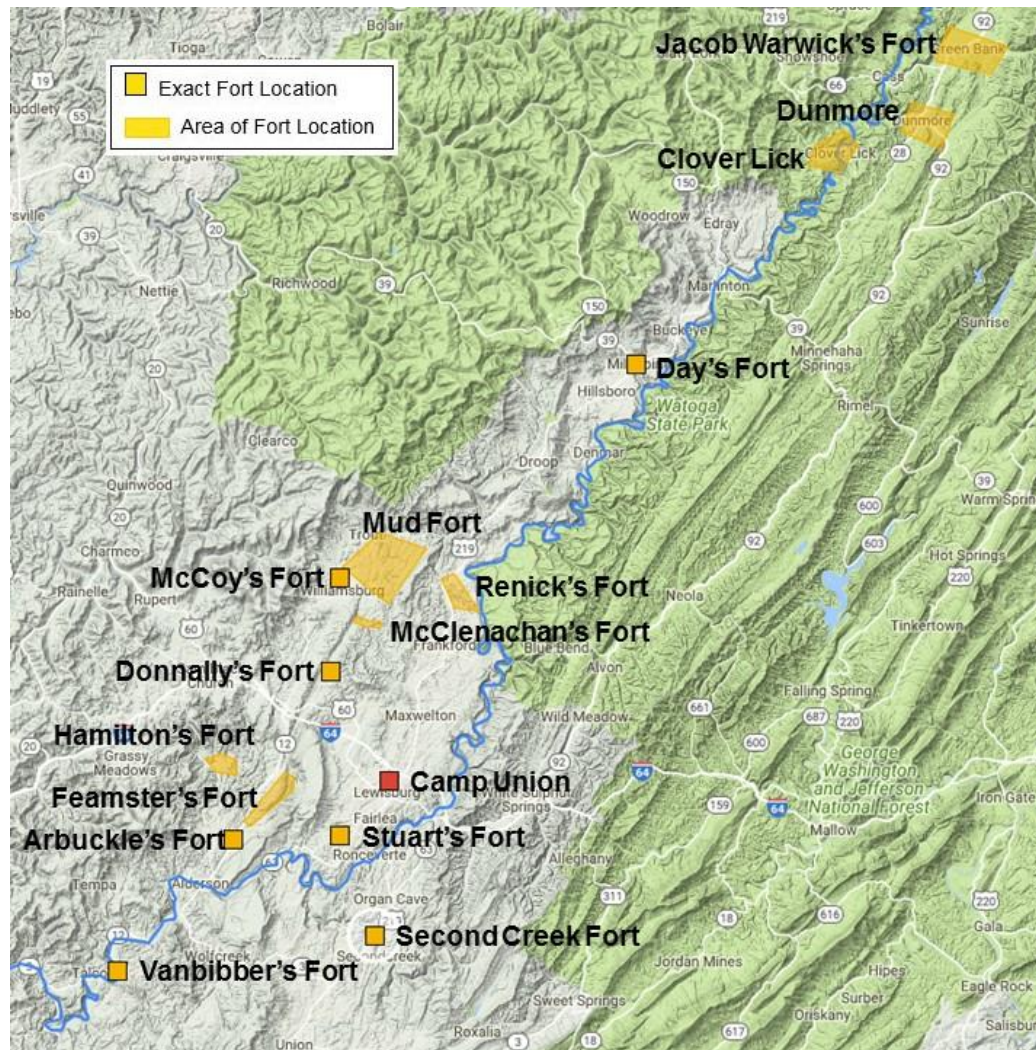


Figure 37. Map of Revolutionary-era Greenbrier Valley Forts.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.

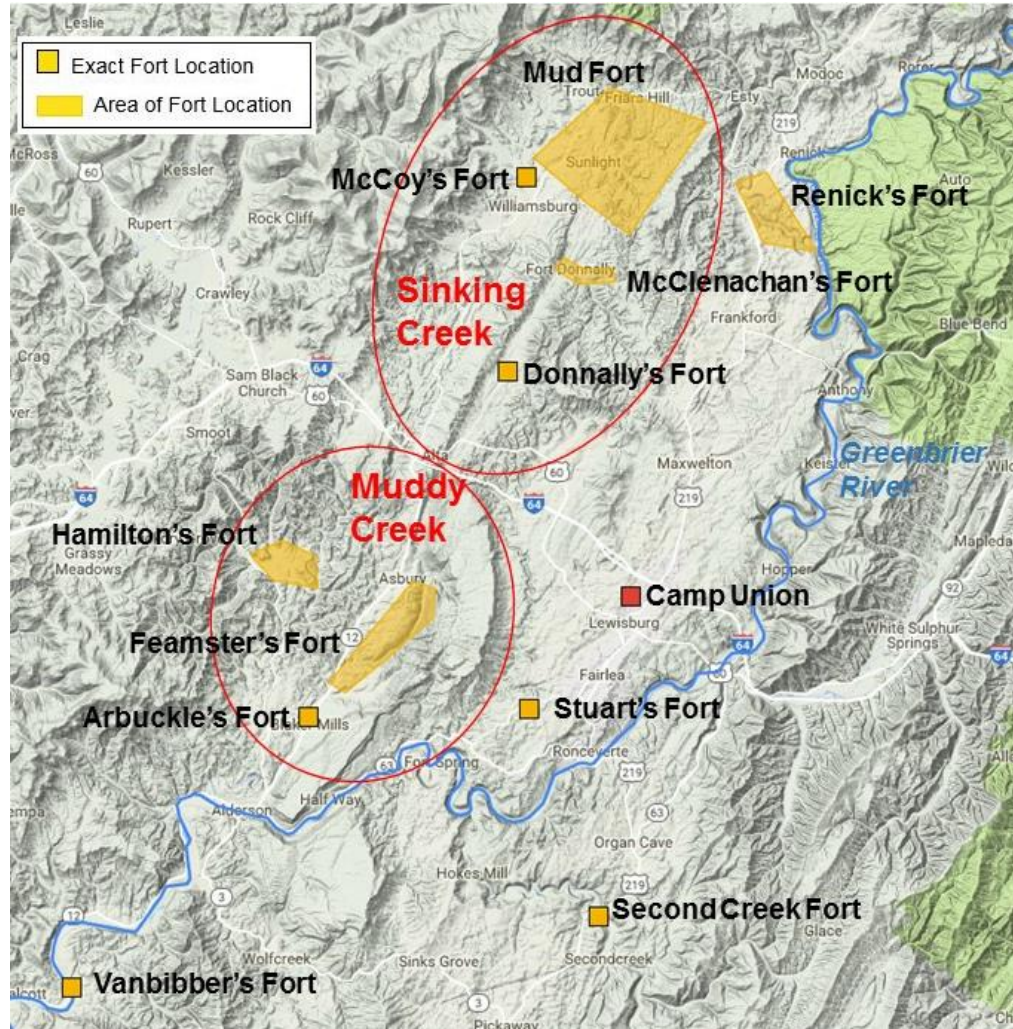


Figure 38. Map Close-up of Revolutionary-era Greenbrier Valley Forts near the “Levels.”<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.



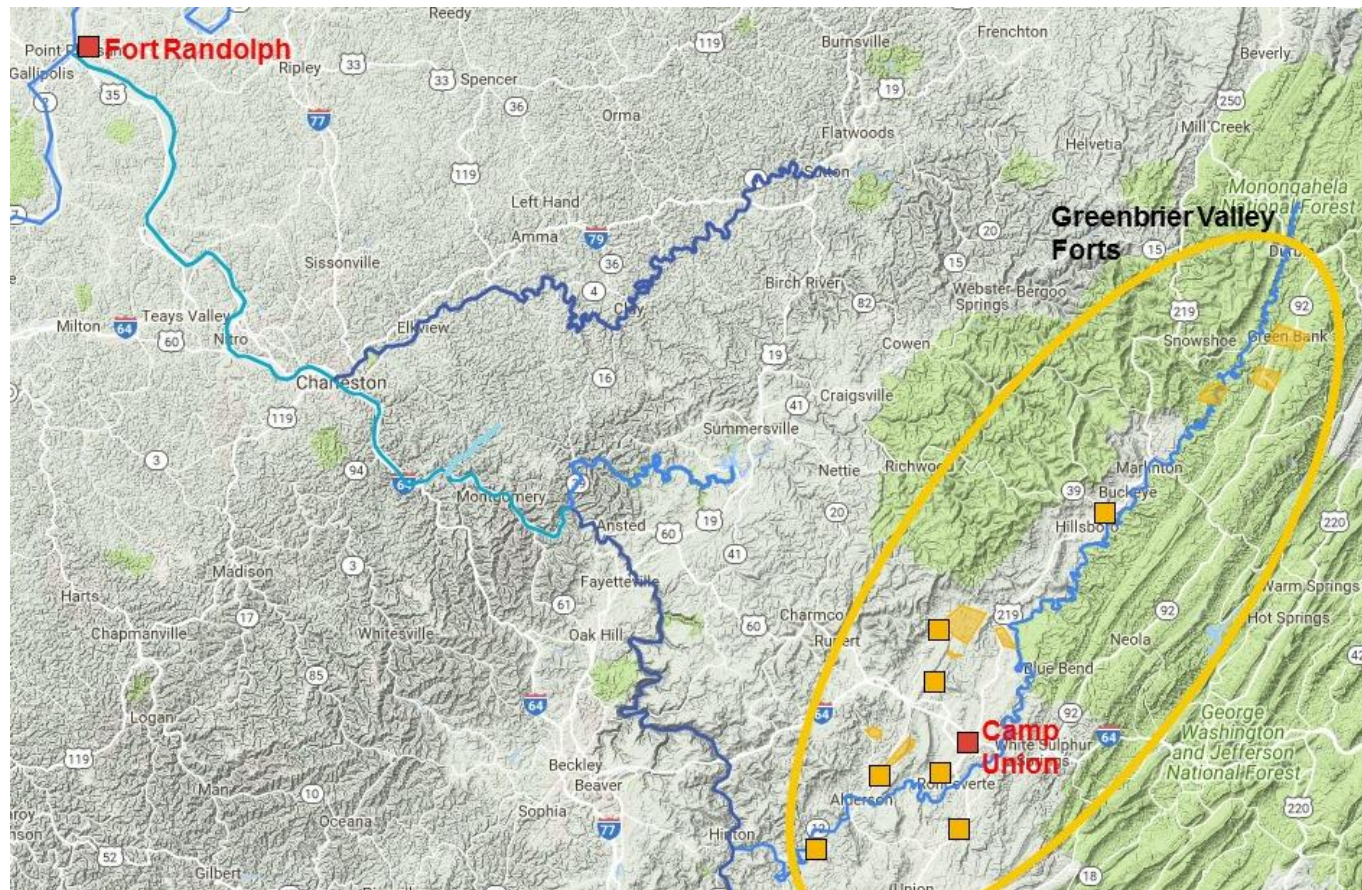


Figure 39. Map of Fort Randolph and Greenbrier Valley Forts.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Fort Randolph was near the site of the Battle of Point Pleasant and Fort Blair. Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.



Figure 40. Map of Locations related to General Edward Hand's Failed Expedition in 1777.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.





Figure 41. Map of the Shawnee Towns and Revolutionary-era Forts:<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> British Forts: Detroit; American Forts: McIntosh, Laurens, Pitt, Henry, and Randolph; Greenbrier Valley Fort: Camp Union; Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.

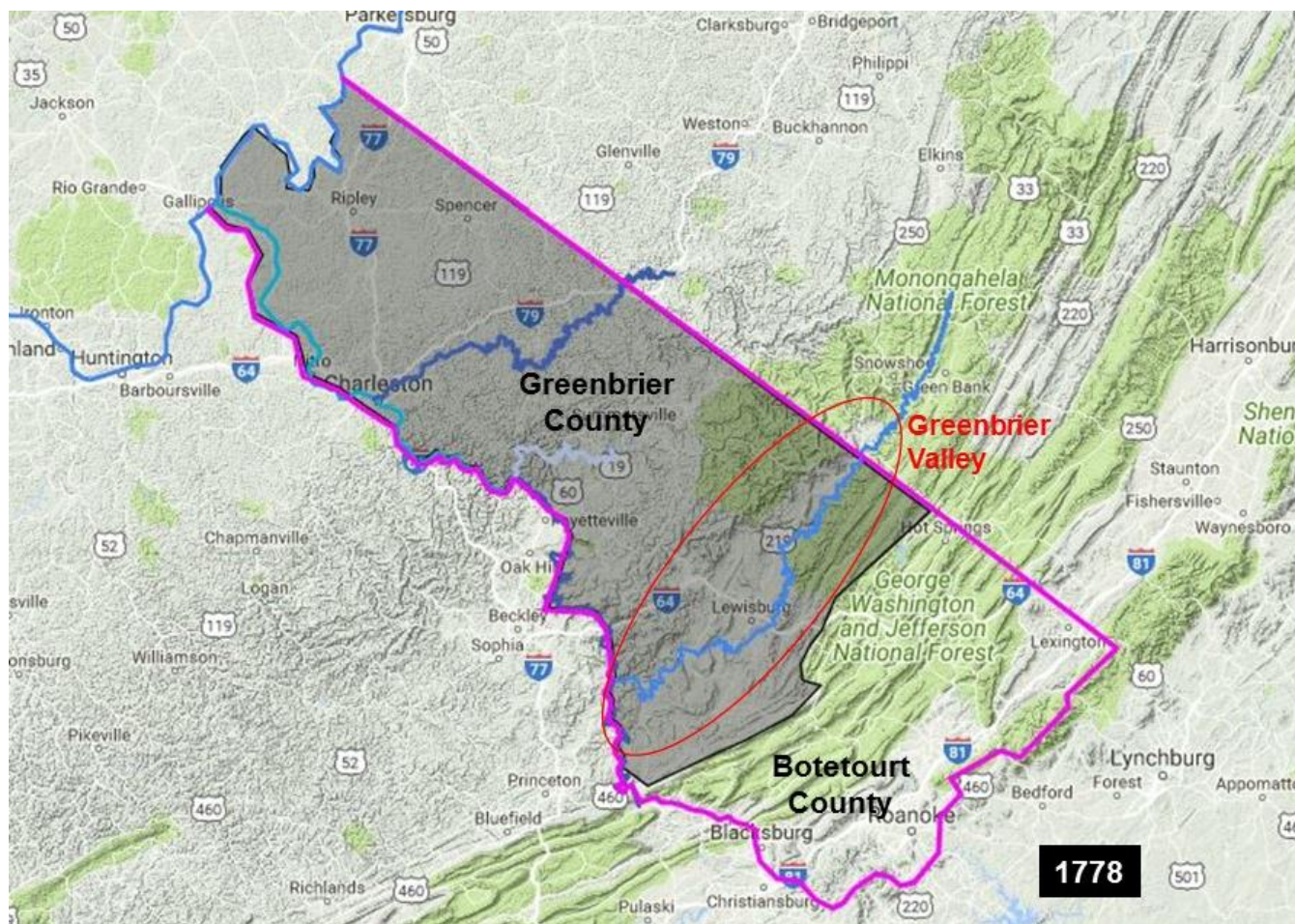


Figure 42. Map of Greenbrier County (Formed from Botetourt County in 1778).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.



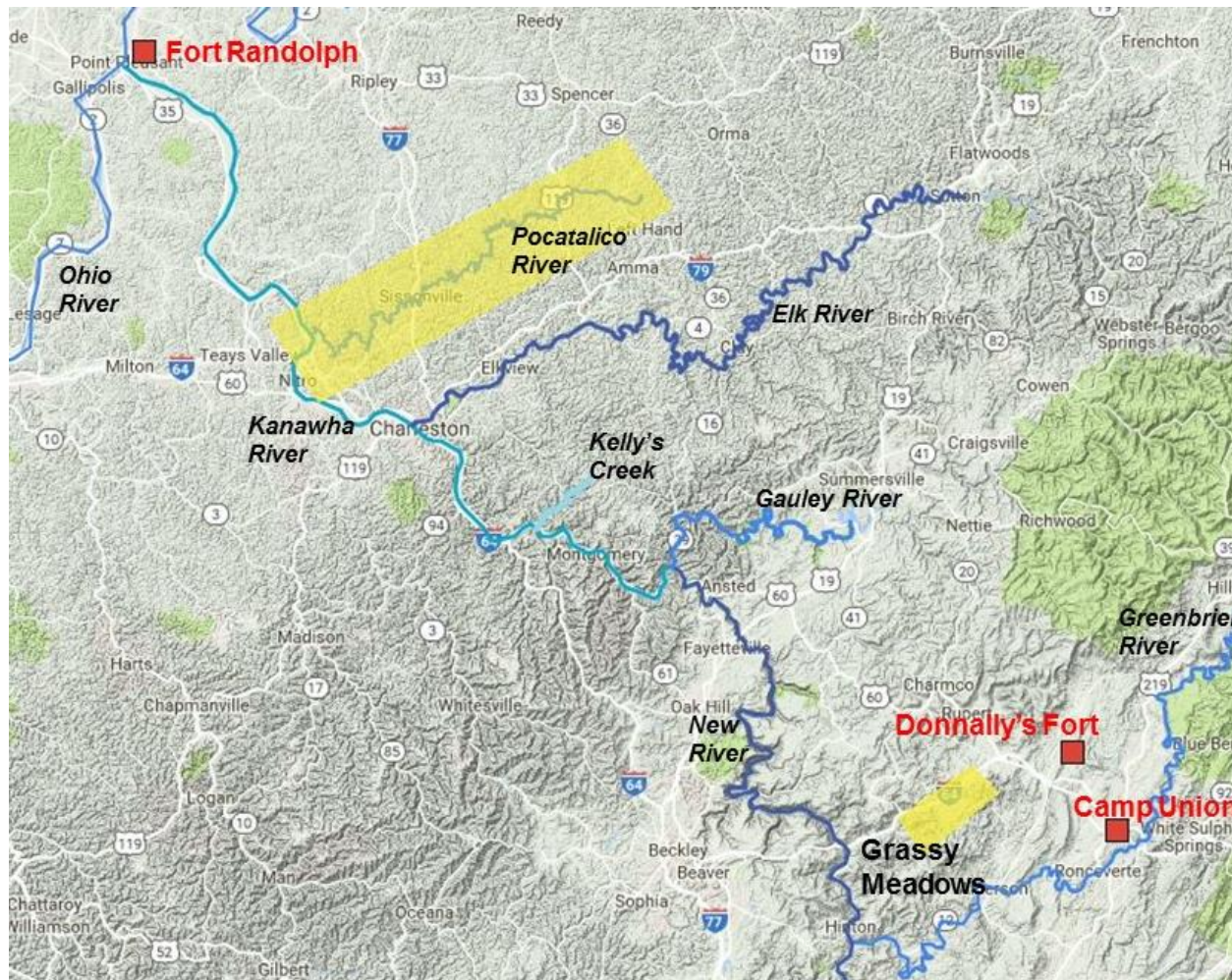


Figure 43. Map of Locations related to the Attack on Donnally's Fort in 1778.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.



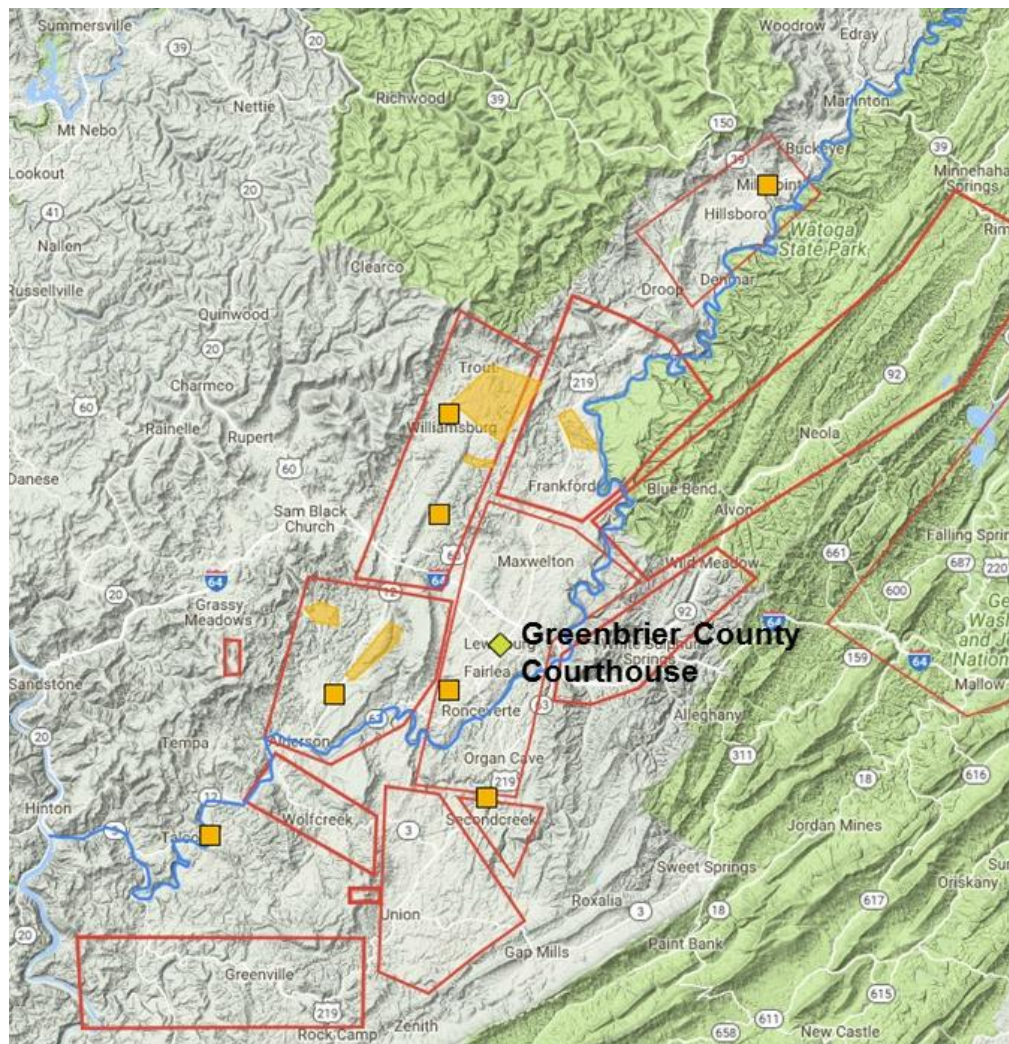


Figure 44. Map of the Greenbrier County Courthouse among Greenbrier Valley Neighborhoods and Forts.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Lewisburg, West Virginia, was founded around the Greenbrier County Courthouse in 1782 (See Figures 11 and 37-38). Map created by Sarah McCartney using Google Maps and Microsoft Powerpoint.



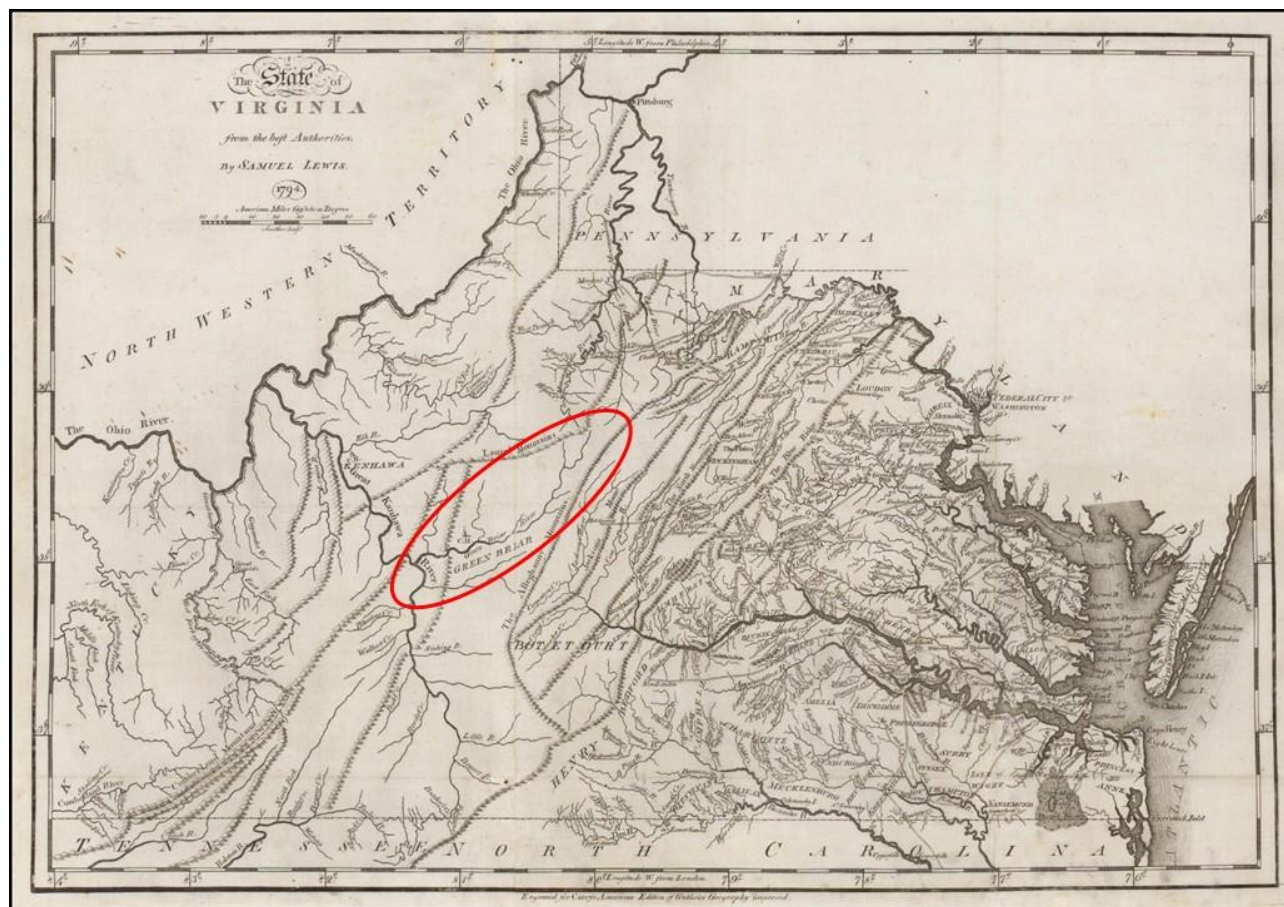


Figure 45. Samuel Lewis Map (1794) identifying Greenbrier County and its Courthouse.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Samuel Lewis (ca. 1754-1822). *The State of Virginia from the best Authorities*, 1794, in "Scrapbook Relating to Thomas, 6th Lord Fairfax, His Estate and Family," comp. Orlando Fairfax, (Philadelphia, 1795), The Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA.

<sup>46</sup> Lewis, *The State of Virginia from the best Authorities*, 1794.